

Krzysztof Fokt

**Governance of a Distant Province in the Middle Ages
Case Study on Upper Lusatia**

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Managing Editor: Katarzyna Michalak

Language Editor: Adam Tod Leverton

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To the memory of my Grandparents and their fellows,
the first Polish generation in Upper Lusatia.

Preface

Throughout the history, there have always been some places situated far away from political or cultural centers. Obviously, many people search for such destinations while planning their holidays. Are they, however, of any particular interest for a historian? My answer is yes. This is for one obvious reason. The real test for any polity is not to manage its central resources but to efficiently deal with the problems of its outlying provinces and peripheries.

In order to investigate how medieval rulers coped with those peripheral challenges, a region for a detailed study was chosen that not only was a political and cultural periphery and borderland from the very moment it appeared in the chronicles, but also never was of central importance for historical research in any of the three countries concerned (Germany, Bohemia and Poland). I hope, therefore, to deliver some fresh insights into the history of a neglected region of East-Central Europe, that could be useful for students of other peripheries and borderlands, as well.

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An important contribution to this book was brought about by people, who shared with the author unpublished results of their research, especially Lutz Ilisch, Dorota Malarczyk, George Indruszewski, Marek Jankowiak, Joanna Wojnicz and Piotr N. Kotowicz. Furthermore, Jasper von Richthofen, Krzysztof Jaworski, Christian Zschieschang, Marek Jankowiak, Maciej Miłkuła, Lech Marek, Paweł Zubrzycki, Marcin Pauk and Waldemar Bena must be acknowledged for their valuable suggestions made during discussions on various topics concerning this book and issues discussed in it, and Tomáš Klír and Christian Speer for providing the author with examples or copies of important books on the issues discussed in this work but unavailable in Poland. I owe special thanks to my wife, Katarzyna Kuras, who always found enough time and patience to speak with me about various issues concerning the present work. The direct feedback on the theses of this book, obtained by the author from anonymous reviewers and from the audience of his lecture in GWZO in Leipzig on October 18th, 2016, was also invaluable.

Conventions of writing proper names

While writing a book on the history of Upper Lusatia, one has to deal with various groups of proper names: 1) historical Slavic names, 2) Upper Sorbian names of various topographic objects, 3) German topo-, hydro- and oronyms of Eastern Upper Lusatia, which are no longer in official use, 4) Polish names, which replaced them after 1945. Such a mixture is puzzling enough even while writing in German or Polish – i.e., in official languages of the states between which this region is divided nowadays. Even more challenging is adopting some general rules for the sake of a scholarly text written in English, which is the case of present book, aiming at presenting the history of Upper Lusatia not only to the three historiographies concerned (of Germany, Poland and Czech Republic). That is why it seems reasonable to provide the readers with some short guide through the conventions of usage of proper names applied in the present work, and to explain exceptions made from them.

All personal names of Christian, Latin, Romance or Germanic origin – with one exception of the name Ekkehard, widely accepted in German and Polish historiography (also in English translations) in its German form – were written in their English or anglicized forms (e.g. Egbert instead of Ekbert, Lothair instead of Lothar), and all the Slavic ones – except for the name Wenceslaus (Václav), which is also name of a Christian saint – in their contemporary Czech or Polish spelling. All the sobriquets of rulers were translated into English. For ethnonyms, a more differentiated approach was applied. The names of the most important and well-known peoples were written in their anglicized forms (Moravians, Stodorans, Saxons, Serbs, etc.), most of the Slavic ethnonyms from the present territory of Poland in their Polish spelling (e.g. Bobrzanie, Ślężanie), and the Slavic names of peoples which inhabited Polabia, i.e. what is now Eastern Germany: either in the phonetic spelling adopted by linguists (e.g. Milčane, Lužičane) or just like they were mentioned in the primary sources (the smallest ones, often with unclear or obscure ethymologies, e.g. *Linaa*, *Besunzane*).

Geographic names (topo-, hydro-, choro-, oronyms and field names) were generally written in their present, official forms; several exceptions were made for regions (e.g. Greater Poland, Pomerania, Saxony) and cities (e.g. Krakow, Prague, Warsaw) with established anglicized versions of their names. In a few cases, where there were two or more official forms to choose from, solutions were chosen that were not obvious, but seemed justified. For the river flowing from Bohemia and marking the border of Germany and Poland, the form Nysa (neither Neisse nor Nisa) was adopted, because it is spelled and spoken the same in three of five languages concerned (Polish, Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian). For the border river, of which Nysa is confluent, Polish form (Odra) and not German (Oder) was used, as most of its catchment basin lays in Poland. Another untypical solution was chosen in case of the capital town of Upper Lusatia, which in historical contexts appears in the book always under its Upper Sorbian name (Budyšin) – like it appeared not only in the primary sources in

the Middle Ages but also in later texts up to the 18th century (*Budissin*, *Budiſin*) – and only when referred to as a present town: under its German designation (Bautzen).

Proper names written in *Italics* are forms taken from the primary sources (e.g. *Linaa*, *Milesko*, *Besunzane*); present attempts of reconstruction of historical proper names were marked with an asterisk (e.g. **Zgořelec*).

1 A distant province as a challenge: an extreme case study on Upper Lusatia

The present book attempts to deliver new insight into the general principles that govern human social behaviors, based upon an in-depth study of a particular region. In historical writing such works are typically called ‘case studies’; however, unlike in social sciences, in history, archeology or history of government this idea is employed not as a strictly conceptualized analytical tool, but rather as a useful metaphor (cf. Gerring 2007, 193). Moreover, a case study methodology, which has been formalized and developed in social sciences (Kothari 2004, 113–117; Yin 2014), should not be applied to historical cases (Rowley, 17; Yin 2014, 12). However, the concept of a ‘case study’ is used to refer to practices that have long been applied by historians: formulating or testing more general hypotheses based on specific examples or their exemplification through specific statements (cf. Orum, Feagin, Sjöberg 1991, 4–5; Wieviorka 1992, 161–162). An example of such a case study in its broad sense is practically every work written from a microhistorical perspective or any sort of monograph, no matter if it focuses on a town, region or institution. The epistemological status of such studies is no different from the one typically ascribed to social sciences case studies. Historical case studies also trigger the processes of empathy and understanding, which in turn lead to generalizations and exemplifications (cf. Stake 1978, 5–6). There is only a small difference between social and historical sciences in the degree of the abstractedness of research procedures and conclusions, which is smaller in the case of the latter (cf. Winkelmann 2011, 13).

A special type of case study, which is applied in both social and historical inquiry, is the so-called extreme case study. According to Markku Jahnukainen (2010, 379), research conducted in an extreme case study framework is focused on highlighting “the most unusual variation in the phenomena under investigation, rather than trying to tell something typical or average about the population in question”. From the present work’s perspective, of even greater importance is John Gerring’s view (2007, 101): “Often an extreme case corresponds to a case that is considered to be prototypical or paradigmatic of some phenomena of interest. This is because concepts are often defined by their extremes, that is, their ideal types”. The extreme case that will be of special interest in this book will be the exercise of power by political authority centers in a region, which under Owen Lattimore’s (1955/1962, 480–481) concept of the radii of the impact of the political center, could effectively be integrated militarily, but not economically, and only hardly: with regard to political-administrative integration.

In those regions, four opposing sets of factors were in play: 1) the highest costs of immediate management; 2) the lowest return rate on expenditures; 3) the best opportunity for autonomous entities to establish a lordship that would be independent from the political center; and 4) the highest costs of maintaining internal

and external peace. Governing such a region was a tough puzzle for rulers, especially given the challenging technical and logistical conditions of medieval reality. At that time, the only way to keep remote provinces under control was to delegate multiple responsibilities to the local representatives of the supreme authority (cf. Oppenheimer 1929/1990, 97–101). The only rational strategy in such situations was optimization; however, if it was to be applied, potential profits and losses had to be considered on each occasion (cf. Holm 2010, 231–232). Accordingly, studying the history of the areas that were most remote from the centers of political power can yield interesting findings about the standards and methods of governing political structures in the Middle Ages as well as selection strategies, and also shed some light on their effectiveness. The present work is designed to address these issues in relation to the history of Upper Lusatia until 1156, which is the time of the arrival of the Burgrave of Budyšin, the first permanent high-rank representative of the supreme authority.

1.1 “Technology” of governance of and in the provinces in the Early and High Middle Ages: basic ideas, notions and methods of research

In his classic work on the sources of social power, Michael Mann (2012, 5–6) rightly points to the organization of power as the key to understanding how societies work and how their internal dynamics drive changes in them. According to this researcher, by focusing on the organizational aspects of power, it is possible to effectively disregard specific human motivations in favor of a logistic analysis not of goals themselves but of the means of attaining them. Quite similar conclusions were reached by Richard Jenkins (2009, 141–147, *passim*), who investigated the problem from a different methodological perspective. He defines power as effectiveness in achieving objectives. A similar approach will be pursued in this book, as will be demonstrated in the following subchapter. Of particular interest in the present chapter will be the methods of exercising power and governance known to the rulers of Central and East-Central Europe in the tenth to twelfth centuries, which is the period this work is about.

One does not need to thoroughly analyze medieval chronicles to conclude that the rulers and magnates of the times more resembled today’s gangsters in terms of their behavior than Brussels technocrats. Nevertheless, they also needed to constantly reorganize and muster available supplies just to be able to undertake military efforts, to demonstrate ostentatious generosity and to support religious foundations (cf. Bachrach 2009, 391–394, *passim*). There is no doubt that medieval Western rulers did not have such institutional instruments at their disposal as the Byzantine emperors or many Islamic emirs did (cf. Mann 2012, 392; Wickham 2001, 3–4; Pohl 2006, 10–11, 15–16, 32–33; Jones 2000a, 509–510). A medieval king or a prince could hardly ever be compared to a modern general, whose orders are obeyed with absolute precision.

He was more of a conductor of an orchestra in which every musician, no matter what instruments they had brought, wanted to play first violin (or even wanted to do the conducting themselves). Nevertheless, medieval Western monarchs could effectively mobilize subordinate groups of people and territories (cf. Jones 2007, 10–11) with the Liudolfing dynasty being a prime example (cf. Bachrach 2009, 391–394). With no such instruments as a well-developed bureaucracy, regular tax revenues, a permanent army or a stable hierarchical judicial system, these rulers were able to secure both internal and external peace (the former within existing standards, i.e. with private war as an established legal measure, cf. Brunner 1939/1965, 1–110, *passim*; Deutinger 2009, 142, *passim*) or even make impressive conquests. All of this took place within network, multi-level and polycentric social structures with the predominance of personal ties over institutional ones (cf. Keller 2009, 127–128). While there is no point in debating here whether or not such structures could be called states (cf. Althoff 2005; Bachrach 2009; Keller 2009; Deutinger 2009; Goetz 2009; with further ref.), it needs to be emphasized that governing those structures or their constituent entities had little to do with the concept of public government or management as we know it today, i.e. the sheer transmission of commands from the political center down the hierarchical administrative-military ladder (cf. Pohl 2006, 32–36, *passim*; Goetz 2009; see also more general remarks about the nature of a medieval state: Brunner 1939/1965, 111–164, *passim*).

To properly describe the relations of power in the Middle Ages, it seems more appropriate to apply the term *governance*, used in the title of the present book, as it is ‘softer’ and ‘broader’ than *government*. It is more effective in describing and analyzing the rules according to which medieval European societies were organized. Those rules were based on networks of various relations that implied the need for multiple entities to cooperate with each other to attain a specific goal. Under this system, each of those entities could demonstrate a degree of legitimacy in its actions and autonomy with regard to the political center (cf. Bevir 2012, 11–15). This concept is also convenient, as it does not imply the strict division between the private and public spheres of life, which is now taken for granted, but was not perceived as such a thousand years ago. For the same reasons, the term ‘governance’, which is pre-modified with various words (e.g., corporate governance, good governance, global governance, e-governance, multi-level governance, meta-governance, etc.) is now becoming increasingly popular in the age of globalization, the growth of multinationals, and the crisis of national states (cf. Bevir 2012, 3; Bevir 2013, 1–2). This new family of concepts has created its own terminologies and methodologies. Parallel to the studies on governance, research is being conducted into the concept of ‘governmentality’, which is derived from Michel Foucault’s approach to the notion of power (cf. Henman 2011; for insights into the relations between the concepts of governance, governability and governmentality see Bevir 2013, 61–62).

However, given the history of the Middle Ages, the meticulous work of experts on organization, politics and society is of hardly any use as it concerns

the contemporary world, which is fairly remote from medieval reality, at the very least due to the different mental and technological constraints. Accordingly, the present book will employ the concept of ‘governance’ in a somewhat simplified way, in line with Rhys Jones’ approach (Jones 2000b, 902, fn. 1), as “referring to the institutions and practices that are instrumental in enabling individuals to govern a particular area, rather than referring to the more specialized meaning which seeks to describe recent changes which have affected the contemporary state”. Apart from the – strictly understood – institutions of government and administration, the term ‘governance’ also includes the entire institutional and social framework necessary to maintain the smooth functioning of a particular organization. This approach is close to the concept of ‘government’ as defined in its broad sense by Michel Foucault (1982, 789–790, *passim*) or the concept of ‘technologies of government’ embraced by his successors (cf. Henman 2011, 290).

There are two major types of governance: ‘inner’ (governance of the political center) and ‘outer’ (governance of the provinces)(cf. similar perspectives by Loyn 1984; Warren 1987; Holm 2010, 231–232 and Duindam 2014, 2, 5, *passim*). The subject of inquiry in the present work is naturally the latter type. However, the distinctions that hold true for the modern era cannot be easily applied to the Early and High Middle Ages, as in these periods there were no delineated regional elites or formalized corporations that would represent the provinces in contacts with the center. The Early and High Medieval monarchies were not composite entities resembling modern states (on composite states, see: Tuchtenhagen 2008, 12–13). For medieval chroniclers and political theorists, the area of ‘outer governance’ was of hardly any significance. Their works focused on chronological events, the relations between secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and the qualities of an ideal ruler. They perceived the state not as a conglomerate of provinces but as a corporation of individuals and their groups (cf. Jones 2007, 15–17). Hence, the political practices of the Early and High Middle Ages were primarily based on the interactions between the members of the ruling dynasties and aristocratic elites creating and epitomizing statehood (cf. Modzelewski 1975/2000, 192–193; Goetz 2009, 528; Boshof 2010, 118–128); with reference to the German context, the model of consensual rule is invoked (cf. Schneidmüller 2000; Schlick 2001, 3, *passim*; see also the comments of Winkelmann 2011, 17).

What has not been fully clarified is who actually exercised power in more remote areas of monarchies in the Early and High Middle Ages: magnates on behalf of the monarch or the monarch with the help of magnates. In Central and East-Central Europe there are two major approaches to these problems. The first is derived from the so-called *Neue Verfassungsgeschichte* (cf. the ‘manifestos’ of this school: Brunner 1939; Schlesinger 1941; see also other works quoted by Graus 1986; Gawlas 2000, 7–11, 102–107; Goetz 2006, 337–338). The other originated from perspectives on the early Polish and Bohemian monarchies (the most important works were listed in: Třeštík, Žemlička 2007, 122–124, fn. 1). Both approaches differ primarily in the assessment of

the ruler and aristocracy. Under the first, magnates who were not dynasty members were an autonomous source of power and had prerogatives to establish lordships that would shatter the unity of monarchies. Under the latter approach, based on the findings of Polish, Hungarian and Czech researchers, medieval rulers held a dominant and autocratic position. The critique of the ‘Central European model’, conducted recently in Poland and the Czech Republic (Gawlas 2000; Jan 2007; see also Pauk 2011, 258–260, *passim*; Berendt et al. 2013, 165–166), found that the differences between Germany and its eastern neighbors in the tenth to thirteenth centuries might not have been as substantial as they had previously seemed to be and could have resulted from the fact that these newer European polities had a shorter history. On the other hand, the Piasts, the Árpáds and the Přemyslids exerted greater power over their subjects than did the post-Carolingian kings. The members of these three East-Central European dynasties enjoyed greater privileges than the magnates; they could also freely appoint regional officials. By contrast, as early as in the ninth and tenth centuries, members of the Carolingian dynasty ceased to be key players in their own kingdoms (cf. Kalhous 2012, 7–8). Notwithstanding, it appears that the Central European model needs to be significantly reconstructed, at the very least since the interpretations based on the findings of the *Neue Verfassungsgeschichte* have proven to be a more flexible tool for understanding the medieval reality. Not only do they effectively combine the frameworks of the history of government, political history, social history and settlement history, but they are also opposed to the earlier French tradition, the traces of which can be found in the Central European model, under which the nobles’ endeavors to establish autonomous regional lordships were one-sidedly evaluated as indicators of feudal anarchy (cf. Kalhous 2012, 4). However, only by identifying and assessing the motives and actions of both the supreme rulers and members of aristocracy is it feasible to properly understand the history of remote provinces.

Based on the above description of the monarchies in the Early and High Middle Ages, which is close to Mayer’s *Personenverbandstaat* model, it can be concluded that only two kinds of territories were politically relevant: those that constituted the base of the monarch’s or prince’s rule and those that boasted a historical tradition or a shared local awareness among the elites. Provinces that did not display any of the above features were regarded as a passive collection of resources (cf. here Harrisson 2001; Jenkins 2009). Resource management clearly was not a theme favored by medieval chroniclers, which is why relatively little information is provided by annals and chronicles. In Germany, the issue of effective resource management was not addressed in historical records until the eleventh century, and even then was mentioned only in the context of the personal qualities of individuals holding key positions (cf. Leyser 1981, 723–4, 731, *passim*). In contemporary discourse about the Middle Ages, this problem is also addressed rather infrequently. However, the fact that resource management was a real problem at the time is not disputed, even by the greatest skeptics (cf. e.g. Althoff 2005, 245). It is a well-known fact that

provinces were used to reward people who were loyal to medieval rulers.¹ For secular and ecclesiastical magnates, their involvement in provincial governance, coupled with the revenues they earned, constituted part of their power, especially in the Slavic territories, which in the tenth century were divided by the predatory monarchies of the Liudolfings, the Přemyslids and the Piasts. A hotly debated issue, especially in Poland and the Czech Republic (cf. Modzelewski 2000, 184–194; Gawlas 2000, 76–78; Třešník, Žemlička 2007, 144–145; Pauk 2011, 258–260; with further ref.), is the extent to which the magnates' involvement in regional governance was essential for their personal position. Even a cursory analysis of the Polish, Bohemian and Eastern German magnates' careers shows that in the tenth to twelfth centuries, the position of *comes* (count) of a frontier province could have been a fine springboard to a high rank in the power elite (in case of Margrave Ekkehard I: almost to the throne). Indeed, a more important question is starting when and by what means magnates sought to build their autonomous positions in provinces, and whether or not and to what extent they were supported or opposed by the monarchs in that process. To answer this question, it is necessary to focus more closely than before on the means that were applied in province governance by members of the elite.

Contemporary medieval studies are lacking in a comprehensive conceptual framework that would be helpful in solving this problem. While in recent decades historians have been concerned with medieval borders (cf. Prinz 1992; Jaspert 2007; with further ref.; on East-Central Europe see also Jaritz 2000; Rajman 2002) and frontier areas (cf. Power, Standen eds. 1999; Jaspert 2007), particular regions (i.a. Wiszewski ed. 2013, with further ref.), local centers of power (cf. i.a. Moździoch ed. 1993) and the relations of power centers with their outward bases (cf. i.a. Moździoch ed. 1999; Poláček ed. 2008; Bulach, Hardt eds. 2008; Koubková, Poláček eds. 2008), they have primarily focused on the issues in such areas as the history of culture or social, economic and settlement history rather than on political or organizational issues. This phenomenon is typical of many historical disciplines, which in the previous century took on a socio-cultural turn. Only recently have they come to focus on political and organizational issues again, which is a more balanced perspective (cf. Gawlas 2000, 10; Auge 2009, 247). In this context, it is worth mentioning an important research trend, i.e. studies on lordship integration that have analyzed political and social power in their highly practical aspects – not from the *Herrschaftsbildung* perspective, as in the school of Rudolf Kötzschke and his disciples, but from the *Herrschaftsausübung*

¹ Cf. here the following characteristic passus from Cosmas of Prague (I, 42), in which Duke Jaromír recommends aristocratic Bohemian families to his nephew Břetislav: *Te autem fili moneo et reperens iterum iterumque monebo: Istos colas ut patres, hos diligas ut fratres et in omnibus negociis tibi consiliarios habeas. His urbes et populum ad regendum committas, per hos enim Boemie regnum stat et stetit atque stabit in sempiternum* (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2, 79). See also the comments by Modzelewski 2000, 191; Kalhous 2012, 124–125; Pauk, Wólkiewicz 2013, 72.

perspective, which is a more practical approach. In line with this trend, important and interesting works concerning Germany in the period in question have been published (e.g. Müller-Mertens 1980; Müller-Mertens, Huschner 1992; Müller-Mertens 1992b; Alvermann 1998; Zotz 2014; see also a more geographic approach in: Herrmann 2000). Sadly, in the field of the studies on distant provinces this research direction lead to a blatantly obvious conclusion that those regions were situated far away from the direct influence of rulers, which in German has been termed *königsfern* (for more on this concept, cf. Moraw 1983, 24, *passim*; Müller-Mertens, Huschner 1992, 153–155, 345, *passim*; Krieger 2005, 2; Boshof 2007, 103; Rexroth 2007, 85; Marquardt 2009, 145), which is a well-known fact without any thorough research.

Both the studies on lordship integration, not only in terms of practice, but also in terms of definitions and basic concepts (cf. Maleczek 2005, 12–13; Thumser 2005, 543, *passim*; for earlier approaches see also Łowmiański 1985, 13–15; Müller-Mertens, Huschner 1992, 9–17) and the concept of the center and peripheries postulate the existence of distinct entities or political structures, which are subject to integration or are interdependent within the centeredness/peripherality divide. This requirement will not always be met by all provinces. In the European reality, the regions that were remote from the centers of political power were sooner or later turned into autonomous structures (magnates' lordships, church foundations or towns) or in their entirety gained a degree of recognition (as distinct territorial entities or estate corporations). Yet the fact is that for a very long time they remained the objects and not the subjects of politics. However, such regions can also become the subject of historical-political studies which – to a greater or lesser extent – draw on the findings of the *Neue Verfassungsgeschichte* school, traditionally focused on such phenomena as constructing and shaping a lordship (*Herrschaftsbildung*) both by the supreme authority and its competitive centers. From this perspective, it is irrelevant whether a particular region was the subject or the object of politics. Even if it remained beyond the strict control of the ruler and his direct subordinates or was situated far away from the junctions (“nodes”) used by the court (residences, abbeys and bishoprics) and the connecting routes (“corridors”), it can still be regarded as a passive collection of resources or assets that could be utilized by the regional (a duke, count, bishop, etc.) or supreme authority (the monarch). In that case, the actual subject of inquiry will be these methods or the possibilities of applying them in the region. This point will be elaborated in the subsequent subchapter.

1.2 Conceptual and narrative framework of the study: politics – organization – infrastructure

To govern provinces, every center of power needs two components: infrastructure of governance and effective access to it. What is meant by infrastructure are all the components of the cultural landscape, as well as material and non-material objects

and structures that are linked with a particular area and are potentially helpful in exercising power: a road network, demesnes, castles, ringfort and parish districts, etc. (cf. on special importance to the infrastructure: Harrisson 2001, 32–33, 37). To control this infrastructure, there were a wide range of means of governance. Given the reality of the High Middle Ages, it is necessary, in my view, to dispense with elaborate typologies, such as the division into the sources of social power proposed by Mann, which in its broad version embraces five sources of power: political, military, ideological, judicial and administrative (cf. Harrisson 2001, 31–33). Such distinctions are useless from the point of view of studies on distant provinces, where political power came from the outside as a fully developed system.

In view of the above, and drawing loosely on the distinction used in the history of administration (Astley 1985, 216–217; Raadschelders 2012, 120–121), the present work employs only a ‘technical’ division of means of governance into immediate and structural. The first group includes means of a direct and personal nature, the application of which did not entail any changes in the legal status of a given region or its part. The other one, by contrast, consists of measures that led to such changes. The scopes of these concepts roughly match relevant academic subdisciplines: social and political history, or event-based history (*Ereignisgeschichte*) on the one hand (immediate means), and the history of law and government (structural means) on the other. For the purpose of the present book, which deals with events and phenomena that took place in the tenth to the twelfth centuries, such a simple distinction appears fully adequate. A careful reader will notice that my approach here, based on the analysis of three factors (politics – organization – infrastructure), quite closely matches the triad of “people – states – territories”, which was proposed for the purpose of similar research by Rhys Jones (2007). This analogy, albeit accidental, does not seem totally haphazard. On closer inspection, this idea structurally matches the concepts employed in all of the history of modern European historiography, according to which political history, the history of law and government and regional history are separate areas of research and knowledge.

Moreover, a medieval ruler, when deciding on the form of governance in a given province, was faced with a more or less similarly structured dilemma. He had to decide who was to be in charge of a given province, and according to what rules (in other words, he needed to determine personal and political details and the legal framework of governance), taking into account the infrastructure that his nominee would have at his disposal. He could emphasize either the immediate means (e.g. by putting trustworthy individuals in charge of the province) or structural ones (by changing the legal status of the province). Within both sets of instruments, he could choose between means that varied in intensity. The less intensive included granting province governance to a *comes* from the neighboring region or turning it into a benefice as an ordinary estate. The more intensive means included appointing a separate count in charge of a given province or dividing it into separate districts (on the grades of intensity of means of governance, see also further, sub-chapter 6.1). It was a rule

that an increased scope of control resulted in higher governance costs. It can thus be assumed that governance intensity increased in two cases: when the domination of a given political power over a province became less stable (due to an internal or external threat) or when the intensification of power in a given area was followed by markedly higher benefits derived from it. It can thus be speculated that even though intensive control could generate the highest economic profit, in the pre-industrial age it was more beneficial to exercise extensive control, which amounted to governance ‘outsourcing’ (cf. Duindam 2014, 2) through either granting benefices to lay people or making donations to ecclesiastical institutions. While this strategy deprived the decision-making center of potential benefits, it eliminated the burdens associated with direct governance. It also ensured the support for those subjects or related political entities that were willing to support the center’s policies. On the other hand, thanks to such measures, the entities that were linked with the central authority were given an opportunity to develop an autonomous position in their region and become a source of competition to the ruler.

The intensive competition of monarchies, territorial rulers and smaller entities (e.g. towns) for the scope of power in provinces marked a later period than the one described in the present book. There is no doubt, though, that the tenth to twelfth centuries saw the begin of all the processes which, from the latter half of the twelfth century, led to the break-up of the Empire and the growth of territorial lordships. Hence, in the present work I will attempt to analyze the strategies applied by successive German monarchs and territorial rulers (primarily the Dukes of Bohemia and the Meissen margraves). I will focus on the kind and intensity of political (immediate) and organizational (structural) means that those rulers used to maintain power in Upper Lusatia and to control the infrastructure of governance. To achieve this objective, it is necessary to meticulously reconstruct some factual data, often challenging the prevailing views. Given the scarcity of sources, I will sometimes resort to circumstantial hypotheses and controversial proposals, of which I am fully aware. However, in my view, a historian working with the High Middle Ages is obliged to make hypotheses applying not only an inductive approach (mostly *de facto* inapplicable) but also a deductive one, which is based on the most likely explanation of the available source data. This is certainly not a strategy without risk, but it is certainly the fastest way to produce new knowledge about past events (naturally, as long as the proposed hypotheses are explicitly approved or challenged by the readers).

I intend to adjust as far as possible not only the logical and narrative structure of the book but also its composition to the already mentioned three-dimensional analytical approach (politics – organization – infrastructure). As a result, Chapter 3 will address political problems, Chapter 4 organizational problems, whereas Chapter 5 will focus on the issues of local infrastructure of governance. I will depart from this consistent pattern only in the case of the period preceding the inclusion of what would later be Upper Lusatia to the Liudolfing monarchy because local autonomous Slavic ethnopolitical structures evolved at that time. In their case, there is no point in

describing the political and economic realities, if for no other reason that due to the lack of relevant sources. An outline history of Upper Lusatia before its inclusion to the Liudolfing monarchy is thus presented in Chapter 2 while the issues related to the local infrastructure of governance in that period are discussed in Chapter 5. While the problems concerning the ‘interface’ of governance (its political and organizational means) will be discussed on a macro-scale; i.e. they will refer to the whole area of Upper Lusatia, the issues related to the local infrastructure, due to the need for a detailed analysis of settlement and material culture, will be addressed only with regard to the eastern part of the country (situated in the Nysa basin, in the tenth century inhabited by the *Besunzane* tribe, in the twelfth century known as *Zagozd*). This subregion has for centuries been regarded as ‘a periphery of a periphery’. For 72 years, it has been situated in the border area of three countries, and for this reason has been marginally addressed by German, Czech and Polish historical studies centers.

1.3 Upper Lusatia as a suitable sample for an extreme case study of an outlying province

Upper Lusatia is a perfect example of a province which was remote from all of the surrounding centers of power, primarily the Kingdom of Germany, specifically the March of Meissen, which constituted one of its parts, then the Kingdom of Bohemia followed by Poland (then the Duchies of Silesia), and over time by other eastern German territorial lordships (primarily the Margraviate of Brandenburg).² In historiography it is even emphasized that the lack of clear territorial and political links with any of the surrounding kingdoms, duchies and margraviates, coupled with the lack of territorial authority residing in this country, is a distinctive feature of Upper Lusatia (cf. Blaschke 1997/2003a, 50; Blaschke 2000/2003, 141; Bahlcke 2004a, 9; Blaschke 2002, 24–25). Indeed, in Central and East-Central Europe there are few regions of this size, which throughout their history have been not only situated on the remote peripheries, but also deprived of local centers of political power. In the high and late Middle Ages, even smaller border areas became home to royal residences³ or were assigned special

² A similar thought was formulated – in a bit more poetical manner and from the perspective of German historiography – by Karheinz Blaschke (1961/2003, 21): *Die Oberlausitz bildete den Kreuzungspunkt der politisch-territorialen Interessen von vier mächtigen Territorien des deutschen Ostens, die aus den vier Richtungen der Windrose ihre Arme nach dem Lande ausstreckten: Sachsen, Brandenburg, Schlesien und Böhmen*.

³ For example, Chebsko/Egerland, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were under the direct rule of the Hohenstaufen dynasty and was home to an impressive residence (Pfalz), or the land of Nižane on the border of Meissen and Bohemia with its main town, Dresden, which served as the residence of the Wettins (from 1287 on a temporary basis, and from 1464 – permanently).

status under the rule of their own dynasties.⁴ From this perspective, Upper Lusatia was part of a bundle of lands stretching longitudinally at the intersection of Germany, Poland and Bohemia, which had long awaited political emancipation, and when this partially happened, it took on a form of autonomy based on the estate representation of the local community.

What distinguishes Upper Lusatia from other lands in this stretch of peripheral regions is that it has always been situated – like other *triplicia confinia* in the history of Europe – at the intersection of not two but of three centers of political power: German, Bohemian and Polish (cf. Marková 2009, 485–486). The strongest and most influential of those three centers of power in the High Middle Ages was naturally the Kingdom of East Franks, evolving at that time into the Kingdom of Germany, subsequent monarchs of which were, as the heads of the western Empire revived by Otto the Great, most powerful laical persons in the Christian West. It is absolutely certain that in the complicated political system of intertwined Empire and Kingdom, Upper Lusatia was only one of *remotiora loca*, an area that the German ruler visited very infrequently, and when he did, it was usually for special reasons, such as war (cf. here Müller-Mertens, Huschner 1992, 154–155, 205; Schneider 1992, 122–123, *passim*). Such provinces as Upper and Lower Lusatia or the land of Nižane constituted the very outskirts of the Empire, being not only almost or utterly devoid of infrastructure controlled directly by the monarchs (palaces, monasteries of royal foundation, crown estates) but also mostly being not governed by their own counts. In fact, Upper and Lower Lusatia were the easternmost frontier regions of the Empire – not in the sense of geographic latitude, as Austria and Carinthia were situated further to the east – but in terms of them being further from direct influence of the monarchs. After all, all the eastern foregrounds of Saxony and Bavaria were organized as marches, duchies and counties full of various possessions of the kings, aristocracy and the Church and only Upper and Lower Lusatia for a long time were left without such a developed imperial superstructure upon the Slavic substratum. Thus, both these lands constituted the furthest fringe of the Empire, deprived of margravian and episcopal seats, not mentioning any infrastructure utilized directly by the Crown (abbeyes of royal foundation or residences of the kings).

Moreover, in the period discussed in this book, the area of Upper Lusatia, which was then referred to as Milsko or land of Budyšin (cf. Knothe 1877, 167; see also Bahlcke 2004b, 11–12) was situated not only in the outermost radius of influence of the three neighboring monarchies, but also, unlike in the Late Middle Ages, outside the main

⁴ For example, the Opole and Racibórz territories, which were the inner and outer peripheries of the second monarchy of the Piasts. In the late twelfth century, they became separate duchies. Kłodzko land, situated on the border of Silesia and Bohemia, was several times designated as a separate territory between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries (it was granted i.a. to the Silesian dukes); in 1469, it was politically recognized as a county under the rule of the Podiebrad family.

East-West trade route. It needs to be emphasized that the images of the special status of the section of the *Via Regia* that ran through Upper Lusatia (the so-called Upper Road, *Alta Strata*), disseminated at least since the publication of Carl Schönwälder's paper (1880), are not reflective of the reality of the time in question. They merely project retrospectively the state of affairs from the Late Middle Ages and the modern era (cf. e.g. Korta 1990, 147; Henning 2004, 180).⁵ The view of the Upper Road as main corridor of communication already in the early Middle Ages might be seemingly supported by the longitudinal extension of the settled area of Upper Lusatia at that time, the presence of silver hoards deposited in the tenth century in Milsko as well as the account of Thietmar of Merseburg on the journey of Otto III towards Gniezno through the land of the Milčane. In fact, none of these arguments is so unequivocal as it seems. The range of the oecumene of Milsko reflects only the geographic situation of that land, jammed between the unsettled mountains and extensive lowland forests. The silver hoards, as will be argued below, do not have anything to do with any stable trade route – as such routes did not yet exist in those lands in such an early period – but rather with political autonomy of the Milčane, preserved almost to the end of the tenth century, and their capability of taking part in the lucrative trade enterprises (cf. below, section 2.3.1). Eventually, the route of the emperor Otto's pilgrimage shows only that traveling through Upper Lusatia was possible – it does not, however, imply the existence of the *Alta Strata* as an arterial road at that early time. With regard to the period in question, it should be remembered how different the system of settlement and the transportation corridors were. Travelers heading eastward from Germany entered Poland through Głogów land. They could not enter it through the poorly settled or unsettled lands by the upper Kwis and Bóbr rivers at the foot of the Sudetes, as those areas were home to large forests, which had not yet been cleared. Such problems affected travelers heading from Upper Lusatia in the first half of the twelfth century, which is supported by Cosmas of Prague's account (III, 56) of count Stephen's journey from the residence of Henry of Groitzsch (probably Budyšin) to the court of Bolesław III Wrymouth (probably to Krakow), which took place in 1124 (MGH SS NS 2, 230). If this was the case, the route through Upper Lusatia was not markedly shorter or more convenient than the northern, lower variant of the road, crossing Lower Lusatia. Thus, the situation in the tenth to twelfth centuries was different from what it was in later periods.

The geographical distance of Upper Lusatia from the centers of power delayed organizational processes that resulted in establishing the basis of an independent lordship by various centers in this region. These processes accelerated a few decades after the end of the period discussed in this book (the early thirteenth century). At

⁵ Fortunately at least some of the recent approaches to this problem are free from such anachronisms (cf. e.g. Richthofen 2011, 21). For information about the Lower and Upper Road see also Herzog 1997, 110, *passim*.

that time, Upper Lusatia was the scene of a struggle between the kings of Bohemia, the then superior rulers of this land, the bishops of Meissen and representatives of aristocracy. They all competed to establish the stable basis of power in the region. Such a struggle was most likely to succeed in a region that was remotely separated from the potential competitors. These events took place after 1156, which is why they will not be extensively discussed in the present work. However, they deserve mention as they were the subject of the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Max Jänecke (1923). This excellent work, important and remembered thanks to its concluding sentence *Herrschaft durch Kolonisation*,⁶ was the first ever extreme case study on that region. Its conclusion inspired further studies, conducted by Jänecke's colleagues from Rudolf Kötzschke's Leipzig seminar and many other researchers.⁷ The merit of Jänecke's work lies in the appropriate choice of the research topic. The fact that Upper Lusatia was situated outside the zone of easy direct intervention by the supreme political authority made this region an interesting topic to explore. The Leipzig researcher sought to investigate the origins of the Upper Lusatian lordships ruled by members of the upper nobility. He chose a region where such lordships were the easiest to establish. In other words, nearly one hundred years ago, an approach to the history of Upper Lusatia, which was similar to the one presented here, proved successful. Also recently Karlheinz Blaschke defined the most important tasks of Upper Lusatian regional historiography as follows: to search for specific features of the past socio-political structures and historical processes of the region, to fit them into the broader historiographic frameworks and to return from there with new research questions.⁸ Clearly, this is the way how regional case study like this one may contribute to the world historiography.

1.4 Remarks on the sources of the study and the present state of research

The importance of Upper Lusatia for the history of East-Central Europe was noticed already by the Nestor of regional history and geography, Samuel Grosser, who wrote in 1714: *Lausitz hat von fast undecklichen Zeiten her in denen merckwürdigen Geschichten*

⁶ Jänecke 1923, 223: *Neben Knothe's Herrschaft nach böhmischen Vorbild und Lorenz' „Herrschaft aus der Burgward“ stellen wir als kürzeste Formel für unsere Auffassung: Herrschaft durch Kolonisation!*

⁷ Cf. here Gawlas 2000, 7. 102 (fn. 58) and the works quoted there. In the context of the history of Upper Lusatia, it is worth mentioning here Herbert Helbig's paper on Upper Lusatia in the thirteenth century (Helbig 1956), which was not only inspired by Jänecke's work but it echoed its main theses.

⁸ Blaschke 2000/2003, 193: *[Es ist] die Aufgabe der oberlausitzischen Landesgeschichte, die Besonderheiten in den Strukturen und Abläufen herauszuarbeiten, sie in die allgemeine Geschichte einzuordnen und von dort her neue Fragen aufzugreifen. Damit kann sie von ihren eigenen Ergebnissen ausgehend zur Bereicherung der allgemeinen Geschichte beitragen.*

Teutschlandes und des Königreiches Böhmen einen gar considerablen Platz gehabt. On the other hand, in the times of Grosser and also later, many people felt that there was much less research done on that region, than it deserved.⁹ Despite the vivid and robust regional historical research, flourishing from the era of the Enlightenment, the state of historical research on Upper Lusatia is still unsatisfactory. Despite the fall of the communist regimes in Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany in the years 1989–1990, our knowledge of the past of this region is still based upon the results obtained by local researchers before 1945 and the three historiographies concerned are still to some extent “trapped” in the canvas of their national perspectives.

The first and only work on Upper Lusatia in which the author conducted a systematic interdisciplinary analysis (at the intersection of the history of government and geographical history) of various sources to resolve problems from the history of the organization and establishment of power in a distant province is the above-mentioned doctoral thesis by Jänecke (1923). For the period in question, it is difficult to find similar works that attempted to provide insight into the technical issues and infrastructure of territorial governance in Upper Lusatia. This does not mean that publications on this topic are non-existent. They are available; however, most of them provide a distorted view of the issue as they are based on false assumptions. Hence, some sections on political history and the history of government will have to be developed from scratch in the present book. These false assumptions and shortcomings will be indicated and subjected to criticism in Chapters 2–5. They include, for example, the *a priori* view that Milsko remained in permanent ‘union’ with Meissen in the eleventh century (see below, sub-chapter 3.2.) or the hypothesis that Milsko was owned by the Groitzsch lords as a benefice from the Přemyslids (see below, sub-chapter 4.3).

To explore most of the problems in the present work, it will be necessary to make critical use of the written sources, which are not always in agreement with each other. To resolve some of the issues discussed (especially those that concern the earliest period of the medieval history of Upper Lusatia and the local infrastructure of governance) it will be essential to turn to material sources, which are not frequently used in studies in political history and the history of government. The most important of these are hillforts, the relics of fortified settlements that constituted the basic element of the governance infrastructure. Another type of material source, which has not been utilized in the research to date but will be extensively employed here, includes finds of valuable objects and coins, which in the period in question were made of silver. These sources do not speak volumes about the local governance infrastructure. However, they are highly valuable as they shed light on the political

⁹ Characteristic for this situation is the phrase found in a letter of A.L. Schlözer to K.G. von Anton on 11th November, 1778 (quoted by Heimann, Neitmann, Tresp 2013, 13): *Ihre Oberlausitz ist bekanntlich für uns entfernte Deutsche eine Terra incognita.*

directions and economic affiliations of the particular regions, which may prove central particularly to the earliest period in Upper Lusatia's history. This point is raised in Chapter 2 of the present work. To provide adequate information about the material sources as well as to avoid an excess of detail, I placed the relevant data on this set of materials in Appendices 7.1 and 7.2, to which the reader is referred for more insights into the specific points.

The narrative sources and documents on the history of Upper Lusatia in the tenth to twelfth centuries have all been published, some multiple times. This point also concerns the thirteenth century sources, including above all the so-called Upper Lusatian Border Document. Their inclusion proved necessary at the stage of the retrospective reconstruction of the supposed burgwards and the oldest demesnes in Eastern Upper Lusatia. In the present work, the reader will be referred to the relevant volumes of MGH, the *Scriptores* and *Diplomata* series, as well as to the editions of Czech, Upper Lusatian and Meissen documents and chronicles (CDB; CDM; CDLS; CDS; FRB; Opel ed. 1874), and occasionally to other source publications. Of great merit in the interpretation of these sources and orientation in their subject literature was the useful compendium by Christian Lübke (Lübke 1985–1987). Archives needed to be consulted in connection with only two topics: the territorial range of parishes in Eastern Upper Lusatia and the range of peppercorn rent occurrence in this part of the region. In both cases, the author's search query was only designed to complete, verify and revise the results of previous searches. The results of the query are shown in Appendices 7.3 and 7.4 and are applied in Chapter 5.

Of greater importance was the archival search for archaeological sources. This stemmed not only from the fact that only some of the relevant materials have been published, but also from the inability to properly determine the territorial range of early medieval settlement without examining the archival documentation from Poland and Germany. This was of special importance to the Polish part of Eastern Upper Lusatia, for which there were separate registers of archaeological sites: the Polish one based on the AZP inventory program (AZP – the Archaeological Picture of Poland) and two German ones: the Prussian one in Görlitz (KM Görlitz) and the Saxon one in Dresden (LfA Dresden). The publications currently available on the Polish part of Upper Lusatia which contain the catalogs of early medieval archaeological sites mostly match either the old Prussian register (Schultz 1939/1940) or the current Polish one (Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968; Prus 2002). It was only in some of the recent publications that an attempt was made to compare the results of the older and newer studies (Richthofen 2003; Fokt 2013b). This work will be continued in Appendix 7.2 (information on the range of the archived materials referred to is to be found in the introduction to this appendix and in the list of the archival sources). There is less confusion with regard to the German part of the region, largely thanks to the published corpus of early medieval sites (Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985) and the catalog of sites in Jasper von Richthofen's work (2003). In the discussion of the finds of silver hoards, I will refer to the catalogs of coins, treasures and archaeological finds

(Dutschmann 1926; Źak 1958; Kiersnowski 1964; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985; Butent-Stefaniak, Ilisch, Malarczyk, Nowakiewicz 2013) and monographs (Scheuner 1892; Haupt 1929; Haupt 1951; Haupt 1952; Leipner 1969; Kilger 2000; Friedland, Hollstein 2008; Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009; Košnar 2010) as well as to other works. The catalog of all coin and non-coin silver finds is provided in Appendix 7.1.

As in other fields of studies on the Early and High Middle Ages, research on early history of Upper Lusatia must deal with increasing flow of secondary sources, i.e. literary production, written in cognitive and narrative frameworks of three national historiographies: German, Czech and Polish. Unfortunately, viewed from all those three directions, history of Upper Lusatia is certainly not a central topic. Even in German historical writing, representing most of the past and present scholarly and local research and discussion on the early history of Upper Lusatia, this region is often viewed through the prism of either Saxon *Landesgeschichte* or purely local *Heimatsforschung*. At the same time, in both Czech and Polish scholarly discourse this region is certainly less addressed than it deserves.¹⁰ Only recently have all three historiographies concerned produced some modern synthetic narratives on history of Upper Lusatia, of both scholarly and popularizing character (Bena 2003, 43–118, *passim*; Bahlcke ed. 2004; Bobková, Březina, Zdichynec 2008; Bena et al. 2010). Nevertheless, Upper Lusatia still remains a marginal topic of scholarly discussion, which results in erroneous or unfounded statements being repeated over and over in subsequent works (see, e.g. below, 3.2, 3.3.3, 5.3.4), questions being not answered or even not properly asked (see, e.g. below, 4.3), and good ideas being shortly presented but neither supported with appropriate reasoning nor thoroughly discussed (cf. e.g. below, 3.2.2). One of most important tasks of this work is to challenge some of those deficiencies, of course basing upon the results of hitherto research.

An excellent starting point for a discussion of the political or ‘event-based’ history of Upper Lusatia is certainly Gertraud Eva Schrage’s work (2004a), which is a synthetic outline history of Upper Lusatia to 1346. This work is superior to the previous publications on this topic as the history of the region is presented there in the broader context of world history. However, some themes in this publication are discussed somewhat superficially, which is why older works also must be consulted (e.g. Knothe 1874; Jecht 1926; Walther 1989a; Walther 1989b; Blaschke 1990). Of particular merit is Richard Jecht’s paper on the political history of Upper Lusatia in

¹⁰ In fact, in Polish historiography some issues are overrepresented (especially the wars of Bolesław the Brave and Henry II) but in older works described through the prism of the struggle of Slavic peoples against the German *Drang nach Osten* – which reflects rather self-conscience of Poles in the twentieth century (who fell victim of cruel German occupation and subsequent anti-German communist propaganda and censorship) than historical reality of the tenth–eleventh centuries. On the other hand, thanks to the politically-based focusing on the early history of Slavdom and Poland, Polish studies on that periods achieved high methodical level; the works of Polish researchers of Early and High Middle Ages, as Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański or Janusz Bieniak, are certainly very inspiring.

the years 1067–1158 (Jecht 1930). These publications have been supplemented with works on particular margravian families, primarily the Ekkehardines (Rupp 1996) and the Wettins (Pätzold 1997), and the biographies of rulers, especially of Bolesław the Brave (Strzelczyk 2014), Mieszko II (Labuda 1992), Conrad II (Trillmich 1991; Wolfram 2006) and Soběslav I (Vaniček 2007). Central to studies on the political history of the period in question is the above-mentioned collection of scholarly source extracts (registers) by Christian Lübke (Lübke 1985–1987).



Figure 1.1: Richard Jecht during work in the Town Archive in Görlitz, ca. 1915. Source: public domain, through Wikimedia Commons, URL <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=29348115> (original painting of Otto Engelhardt-Kyffhäuser preserved in KM Görlitz).

The most important works on the history of government and territorial governance in Upper Lusatia in the High Middle Ages are the papers by Hermann Knothe (1877) and Martin Reuther (1961). Both texts present the most current knowledge at the time of their publication in a consistent and coherent manner (more on Knothe's work in Kersken 2004). Besides the above texts specifically concerning Upper Lusatia, worth mentioning is the summary overview by Walter Schlesinger (1953), which systemizes the knowledge about the political and judicial systems of the German margraviates east of the Saale river. As all of these works have been written by historians, not lawyers, they focus primarily on the problems in the history of the sources of law and government, and not, for example, on case law. However, this is actually relevant to the current work, given its approach and the narrow range of issues that are addressed: political history and the history of government, with insights from the few sources remaining from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. Synthetic comments by historians of law were made by Jan Kapras (1913; 1935) and Herrmann von Salza und Lichtenau (2013, 40–43). However, these are in fact short and concise extracts from works dealing with a broader scope of problems, and hence, are of little significance to the subject matter. Far more relevant were works devoted to eastern German margraviates (notably Lüpke 1937) and the role of margraviates and margraves in the political system of the Empire in the eighth to the twelfth centuries (Stieldorf 2012; Rentschler 2012).



Figure 1.2: Hermann Knothe, meritorious researcher of history of Upper Lusatia. Source: NLM 79:1903.

The state of research to date on the infrastructure of governance is unsatisfactory (this problem is addressed in Chapter 5 of this book). This situation is not due to the lack of relevant publications. Actually, there is an excess of such contributions; however, their authors repeatedly reiterate the false assumptions made by their predecessors. What serves as an extreme example of this practice are the claims by Alfred Meiche (1908) on the borders of the Meissen episcopal holdings in Eastern Upper Lusatia, which are consistently repeated by most authors. As a result, the corresponding sections of their works must be deemed worthless. Another shortcoming of the research to date is the lack of an adequate interdisciplinary perspective, under which the past reality could be reconstructed on the basis of both written and material (archaeological and numismatic) sources.¹¹ However, even though the problem of the infrastructure of governance in Eastern Upper Lusatia is a narrow topic area with little source information, and is mainly studied by regionalists rather than academic researchers, it is still possible to investigate it by referring to in-depth and balanced contributions that offer a fine overview of state-of-the-art research (e.g. Kobuch 1996; Dickers, Hardt 1998). Worth quoting are also more controversial works which offer highly original claims and interpretations, which are undoubtedly well worth considering (Huth 1971; Huth 1981). Some of these views will be challenged in many sections of this book, which mainly aims to integrate the local detail and the results of regional studies into a more general vision of transformations in the organization of European polities in the Early and High Middle Ages.

¹¹ These two kinds of sources are combined well in the work by Gerhard Billig (1989). However, eastern Upper Lusatia, which is closely investigated in Chapter 5 of the present book, was unjustifiably left aside by Billig.

2 The borderland is born: short but turbulent history of the Milčane and the *Besunzane*

The first note in the written history of Upper Lusatia is a mention of two of the peoples occupying this region – the Milčane and the *Besunzane* – in the registry of the peoples living north of the Danube from the late ninth or rather early tenth century, known as the *Bavarian Geographer*.¹² It might seem strange that the Slavs inhabiting what we call today Upper Lusatia were virtually unknown to the Frankish annals of the eighth and ninth centuries, which were well acquainted with e.g. the Czechs (Bohemians) or Glomači, living on the upper and middle Elbe. It must be pointed out, however, that – according to the current state of archaeological research – there are almost no traces of Slavic settlement in Upper Lusatia that could be safely dated to the seventh or eighth centuries (cf. Richthofen 2004, 7; Wilhelm 2004a, 48; Richthofen, Smolnik eds. 2010, 75–76; on Eastern Upper Lusatia, see also Fokt 2016b). The mass of the Slavic finds is certainly of the “middle Slavic” technological type and ornamental style and, subsequently, originates from the second half of the ninth or the tenth century. It is probable then that not very much time had passed between the first appearance of Slavs in Upper Lusatia and when a certain monk in what is today southern Germany recorded the names of *Milzane* and *Besunzane*. This would resemble strongly the situation in the neighboring Lower Lusatia, where dendrochronological dating of many ringforts allowed for more precision and re-framed the whole chronological framework of the early Middle Ages (see Henning 1998; Henning 2002, 132–136, *passim*).

The history of the Milčane and the *Besunzane* ended quickly. As far as may be concluded from scarce sources, the latter were absorbed by the former (cf. here, i.a.: Tyszkiewicz 1968, 64–65; Knebel 1983, 165; Knebel 1987, 8; Tyszkiewicz 1981, 127; Tyszkiewicz 1995, 46), who, in turn, also disappeared as an autonomous polity still before the end of the tenth century. Incorporated into the structures of the Ottonian Empire, the lands of the Milčane and *Besunzane* became its furthest appurtenance in the contact point with two other mighty dynastic powers which gave rise to the later medieval Czech and Polish states and nations: the principalities of Přemyslids and Piasts. In the present chapter, this process of development from local gentile polities towards the borderland of the Empire will be analyzed. Before that, however, the local actors will be introduced and, further on, their roles in the web of political and military interactions of the foreground players highlighted. The first step in

¹² The latest edition: Rossignol 2011b, 313 (with photocopies, Abb. 5–6). On the dating of the source, see Rossignol 2011a (with further references), tending to the younger date (early tenth century), which seems quite plausible and consistent with both the historical and archeological data currently available (cf. here also: Widajewicz 1947, 5–6; Nalepa 1996, 22, fn. 55; Henning 2002, 135–136; Nalepa 2003, 33–35, *passim*; Richthofen 2004, 9–10).

this direction will be an attempt to relate the Milčane and the *Besunzane* to the broader framework of gentile socio-political structures of early medieval Slavdom (sub-chapt. 2.1).

2.1 Upper Lusatia between the “tribe-full” fringe and “tribe-less” interior of the Western Slavic area

For many decades, in the historiographies of the countries concerned the groups of people mentioned by the early medieval sources were called tribes (pol. *plemię* or, not currently in fact used, *szczep*, ger. *Stamm*, cz. *kmen*) and treated as basic units of social organization (on the historiography of the problem, see: Boroń 1999, 47–89; Boroń 2001). Some Eastern and Central European scholars, not abandoning the safe methodological harbors of Marxism and evolutionism, already before 1989 or shortly thereafter, refined the simple notion of “tribe” by differentiating the tribes either by their historically determined characteristics (the “ethnic” and the “territorialized” tribes: see Procházka 1958, 146–147; Procházka 1968; Herrmann 1990) or by the level of their size and complexity (“small” and “big” tribes: Hilczerówna 1965; Łowmiański 1970a, 33–36; Łowmiański 1970b). This refined terminology was, however, still not operational as the scholars were not in agreement on many crucial issues (cf. Třeštík 2009b, 144).

More recently, thanks to the reception of the methodology of the ethnogenetic studies of Reinhard Wenskus and the Vienna school as well as of some theoretical approaches of cultural anthropology, the discussion surrounding the question what the social groups mentioned under ethnic or territorial names in the written sources could be reached a different stage, at which the notion “tribe” is no longer conceived as being in need of explanation and understood as the pre-state or non-state (whatever that would mean) Slavic social structures. Especially worth mentioning in this context is the attempt of the Czech scholar Dušan Třeštík, who deconstructed the hitherto predominant vision of numerous “Czech tribes” once populating Bohemia and highlighted the primary unity of this land under one ethnic name (see Třeštík 1983, 66–68; Třeštík 1994, 431–437; Třeštík 1995, 162–163, 170–172; Třeštík 1997, 58–74, 77–78; Třeštík 2009b; see also Berendt et al. 2013, 91). Seen through the prism of the Frankish annals or the *Bavarian Geographer*, which knew only one *gens Bohemannorum* and numerous *duces* governing it, Třeštík’s hypothesis seems rational and plausible. It allows adopting for the purpose of Slavic studies the term *gens*, frequently used in the historiography from the moment when the groundbreaking book of Reinhard

Wenskus (1961) was published to denote the peoples of the early Middle Ages.¹³ In fact, the *gentes* of the Western Slavs known to us through the sources should be identified with the “ethnic tribes” and “big tribes” of the older scholarship. These were known to the Frankish annals as larger organizations, contained some smaller sub-groups governed by their own elites (the “small tribes” of the older scholarship) and bore rather archaic ethnonyms, often dispersed in various parts of the Slavic oecumene and semantically not clear already for the people of the early Middle Ages, as the Serbs, Veletians, Obodrites (cf. here: Procházka 1958, 146–147; Łowmiański 1963, 45–50; Herrmann 1990, 225–226; Leciejewicz 2000, 154–156).

The belt of Slavic *gentes* (in the sense sketched above) stretched along the Danube and Elbe. This was probably not a mere coincidence: such territorial expansion of the area of “ethnic” Slavic structures of old origin reflected the history of Slavic settlement of that region, related to the Elbe, and the proximity of the Avars and the Franks, which probably enhanced the consolidation of those Slavs who remained independent from the direct domination of those great powers. What was there – in an ethnic and political sense – behind this belt of border peoples, staying in close contact with the Frankish Kingdom from the eighth century, has recently become a subject of some discussion. Przemysław Urbańczyk, an anthropologically-oriented archeologist, has mercilessly criticized the usage of the term “tribe” to describe the organization of the people living in the Slavic interior in the early Middle Ages (Urbańczyk 2008, 69–106; Urbańczyk 2012, 101–113). On the level of terminology, this criticism must be regarded as unjustified. Experience indicates that in the fields concerned, the term “tribe” is not typically used in a strict, anthropological sense, but rather as a conventional, *de facto* synonym in relation to the terms “ethnos” or “people” (cf. Fokt 2014a, 4–5; Fokt 2016a).¹⁴ On the other hand, the criticism of the use of the term “tribe” presented by Urbańczyk is not restricted to terminology, but also involves further questions important for our perception of the social structure of the ancient Slavs in general. Here, Urbańczyk not only called into question the existence of Slavic tribes in a certain sense, but also is doubtful in general of the existence of the division of Slavs into some permanent and unchanging ethno-political “segments” that historians attempt to group under some names – either mentioned in the sources,

¹³ In this meaning, the Latin term *gens* (compeer of the German word *Stamm*) would perfectly correspond to the Czech term *kmen* (see Procházka 1958, 147, 150, fn. 43, *passim*). More complicated would be the attempt to identify its equivalent in Polish; I would opt for the term *szczęp* (cf. similar understanding of that term by Łowmiański 1932 and in the works referenced by Boroń 2001, 200–201), despite the existence of a different tradition in Polish scholarship (see Boroń 2001, 196–197, with further ref.; cf. also the critical passus against such usage of this term by Zajczkowski 1955, 288).

¹⁴ In other words, Urbańczyk first had to “dissect” the term “tribe” from the works of others, making it subject to a type of criticism that can, without much exaggeration, be described as “criticism for the sake of criticism”. This type of eristic procedure is a trick often employed by this author, cf. the review of his latest book by D.A. Sikorski (2013).

or even invented by themselves – and archaeologists designate as settlement clusters (Urbańczyk 2008, 69–106). According to the Warsaw-based scholar, the Western Slavs knew no stable ethnopolitical organizations, their society was probably organized in acephalous forms, from among which, in the course of political developments of the late ninth and tenth centuries, emerged quite rapidly rather fluid organizations of a chieftom type.

It is hard to resist the impression that Urbańczyk constructed a “virtual”, exaggerated thesis under which he gave his blistering critique. In fact, the fluidity and volatility of the Slavic ethno-political structures at the end of the first millennium AD has been known for a long time (cf. for the region discussed here: Tyszkiewicz 1981). Furthermore, at least for some parts of Western Slavdom, the claim that stable Slavic *ethne* did not exist in the ninth and tenth centuries is simply contradictory with the tenor of the sources. However, at least for some regions of Western Slavdom not neighboring on the Kingdom of the East Franks, the perspective proposed by Urbańczyk seems more appropriate. In Pomerania, as can be concluded from the silver deposits, the presence of imported objects and, last but not least, the building of ringforts by the end of the eighth and in the first half of the ninth centuries, the significant dynamization of the local Slavs began relatively early. At the same time, the sources have barely reported on the existence of any ethno-political entities in that area.¹⁵ Evidently, as in Scandinavia for example (cf. Fried 2005, 78–80, *passim*; Urbańczyk 2008, 105), peoples or tribes did not necessarily serve as an essential element of the local political structure there. The situation should be interpreted differently in the interior of Poland, where archaeologically observable political-military dynamism occurred at the same time as the appearance of these regions on the horizons of Eastern and Western sources, i.e. only at the time of the early Piast monarchy (cf. Urbańczyk 2008, 105–106). It even seems that one could explain in this way the sudden emergence of this polity immediately as a significant military power – it just emerged “in the middle of nowhere”, among poorly organized societies which offered no strong competitors and were thus fairly easy subjects of conquest.

It would, therefore, appear that Slavdom in the ninth and tenth centuries was divided roughly into three zones: the frontier, a maritime zone and the interior, the least socially dynamic of the three. Only roughly do these zones correspond with archeological “provinces” discerned recently by Jacek Poleski (2013, 205–207), as parts of the limes zone should belong to both of them. The later Upper Lusatia would have been situated in the hinterland area of the frontier zone directly bordering the Kingdom of the East Franks, lying close to the Slavic interior, which was extremely

¹⁵ For Middle Pomerania one can possibly relate the mention of the Serbs (*Surfe*) in the Anglo-Saxon supplement of *Histories against the Pagans* of Paul Orosius (cf. Fokt 2003a, 17–19; Fokt 2010, 273–275). The *Prissani* and *Uuelunzani* mentioned in the *Bavarian Geographer* can be regarded as the easternmost of the Veletian tribes living further to the west (cf. here: Labuda 1988).

weak in terms of military and political dynamics. Aside from the future Upper and Lower Lusatia, this hinterland part of the limes zone could have included what was later called Silesia, at least the part of it on the left bank of the Odra River. Some of the peoples living in this area at this time were mentioned by the same names from the late ninth or early tenth centuries (the *Bavarian Geographer*) until after they were included in the stable dynastic polities,¹⁶ i.e., their names – of course as choronyms, not ethnonyms – became means of organizing the respective areas by their conquerors. Other peoples in this transition zone (the *Besunzane*, Bobrzanie and Trzebowianie) were probably much more ephemeral in nature and existed only long enough for a single mention in the primary sources. This ethno-political dynamic – the emergence of some peoples and the disappearance of others, as well as the endurance of the main tribal territories – in no way would distinguish the “hinterland” area from the “limes” zone situated closer to the Kingdom of the East Franks; while the mere presence of peoples discernable to Frankish observers clearly differentiates it from other areas deeper in the Slavic interior.

An element that seems to distinguish the territory of both Lusatias and left-bank Silesia from the frontier area full of *gentes* is an absence of the first signs of the two-stage ethno-political structures known from the lands directly bordering the Kingdom of the East Franks. There, one can see higher ethno-political structures – the Serbs, Veletians, Obodrites and Czechs (Bohemians) – as well as a lower level of political organization, e.g. the *Siusili* and the *Colodici*, which were part of a large group, the Serbs (cf. Schlesinger 1960/1961, 14; Tyszkiewicz 1981; Lübke 1997, 120; on Bohemia see Třeštík 2009b, 144–145). It seems no coincidence that these particular units of higher-order political organizations often had archaic names which were also known from other parts of Slavdom (cf. Herrmann 1990, 226), while lower-order ones had “common” names that were etymologically topographical or patronymic. It seems that there are no traces of these two-tier organizations east of the Elbe and north of the Sudetes (cf. Tyszkiewicz 1981, 124–127). This phenomenon may, however, prove apparent if one takes into account that even in the second half of the tenth century the tribes inhabiting what later became Upper Silesia – the Opolanie and the Gołszyce – were probably called Croats (cf. Fokt 2003b, 139–144; Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 204, further references there). There is no similar information about the peoples living in modern Lower Silesia and Lusatia, but considering the precedent of Upper Silesia cited above, one must recognize that the absence of a two-tier ethno-political structure in this zone is not a factor fundamentally distinguishing it from the frontier areas.

¹⁶ The majority of these (the Ślężanie, Milčane, Lužičane, Gołszyce) gave rise to the names of the lands already used within the power structure put in place by the early states, at least to the twelfth century (*casus* of Milsko: cf. Fokt 2013a, 237–238, and below, section 3.3.3) and even until today (Śląsk/Schlesien, Łużyce/Lausitz).

In fact, what really distinguishes the southern and western fringes of the Slavdom near the Kingdom of the East Franks and the hinterland areas described here is the chronology of the appearances of the local Slavs in the sources. Both written and archaeological sources consistently note the existence of Slavic settlements on the Spree and Nysa rivers in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Looking at this problem *sine ira et studio*, it seems most reasonable to state that, according to the present state of research, these lands were simply not substantially inhabited by Slavs before (cf. Henning 2002, 140–141). At the same time, it is unclear if the Slavs came to Upper Lusatia from the east, west or south.¹⁷ The westerly and southerly directions are more likely due to continuous Frankish pressure on the Slavs since the eighth century: Upper Lusatia would act in this system as a safe “haven” where some Slavs could withdraw from the lands nearer to the Kingdom of the East Franks. In that case, however, the differences in socio-political development and political systems between the frontier peoples and the tribes of the “transition zone” were most likely minimal, as the latter would be derived from the former. Therefore, the Slavic inhabitants of what was later to become Upper Lusatia in the late ninth and early tenth centuries were certainly well aware of the advantages and disadvantages of the proximity of East-Frankish might and acquainted with the forms of political organization of other Slavs living next to the Franks.

2.2 Introducing the “bit players” of history: the Milčane and the *Besunzane*

As a territorial framework for any settlement or political initiative, Upper Lusatia may be characterized – in the terms of landscape studies – as a corridor of latitudinal disposition. According to archeological and onomastic research, the core of the oecumene inhabited by Slavs there was the main body of fertile, eolic soils stretching from east to west, what is called the Lausitzer Gefilde (cf. Walther 1989a, 74, map 3; Richthofen 2004, 10, Abb. 3; on the geography of the region, see: Knebel 1965; Mannsfeld 1986–87; see also Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1996, 14–15; Bena 2003, 9–17, *passim*). This belt of dense settlement was limited in the south by the Sudetes (Jezeria Mountains and Lusatian Mountains) and their foreground, colonized only in the thirteenth century, and in the north by the extensive backwoods growing on the poor, sandy soils (also colonized from the High Middle Ages onward, of which, however, much remained uncleared until present). The historians and archeologists generally

¹⁷ The projection of the differentiation of material culture on the presumed sequence of migrations suggested the older scholarship that the Slavic inhabitants of Upper Lusatia came there from the east (cf. Tyszkiewicz 1981, 113–115, with further ref.); according to the present methodology and chronology of respective archeological findings this thesis does not, however, hold true.

agree that the name Milčane was attached to the inhabitants of the western and central part of this area, lying in the catchment basin of the Spree. Most of them tend to localize the other Upper Lusatian people mentioned in the *Bavarian Geographer*, the *Besunzane*, upon the Nysa River and around the mount currently named Landeskrone, in the eastern part of Upper Lusatia, at present divided among three states (see: Richthofen 2004; Jaworski 2005; further works are referenced below, in this chapter). Recently, Krzysztof Jaworski (2005, 307–310, *passim*) presented the presumable territories occupied by the Milčane and the *Besunzane*, having identified them with the “Spree-cluster” and the “Lusatian cluster” of early medieval ringforts.

Jaworski’s view of the ethno-political geography of what is currently known as Upper Lusatia might be called the crowning achievement of the research to date on this topic. There are, however, some doubts that arise around this reconstruction. The most general is that there may have been no direct correspondence between the settlement structures and the ethno-political identities (on this topic, see: Wenskus 1961, 45–46, 100–102, *passim*). The influence of the leading elite of the Milčane and/or the respective identity may not have reached every corner of the “Spree-cluster” of settlement or, on the contrary, at least at some point in time it could have reached out of this bastion – also without having left any traces in either written or archeological sources. In fact, such a thesis was revived lately and newly documented by Jasper von Richthofen, who claimed the *Besunzane* to be a “sub-tribe” of the Milčane, and some comments on this will be presented in a few paragraphs further on (see below, section 2.2.2). The scarcity of sources and the dynamism of the general political situation in the tenth century also do not allow very strict borderlines to be drawn between the – presumed! – “tribal” territories. There is, for instance, no way to tell whether (and when) the Zittau Basin settlement might be attributed to the *Besunzane* or only to the Milčane. A similar ambiguity is related to the Kwis River Basin with its two early medieval ringforts in Lešna and Nawojów, which might have been linked either with *Besunzane* or with Bobrzanie from the Bóbr River Valley or with any of them in different moments of history. In fact, even the eastern-Upper-Lusatian localization of the *Besunzane* has long been a contentious issue, though possibly unfairly.

2.2.1 The localization and territorial scope of the *Besunzane*

The idea of locating the *Besunzane* precisely in Eastern Upper Lusatia is based on the results of research by Richard Jecht, who linked the place name Biesnitz (today Görlitz-Biesnitz) as well as the name of the *Businc* castle mentioned in the chronicles of Thietmar of Merseburg (VII, 19; MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 420–421) in a description of a 1015 military campaign with the name of the *Besunzane* people (Jecht 1921; Jecht 1925). At present, the idea of looking for the seats of the *Besunzane* around the

presumed *urbs magna Businc* (upon the Landeskrone) and the village of Biesnitz (today, Görlitz-Biesnitz) is currently nearly universally accepted,¹⁸ although it cannot be considered undisputed. Some authors have generally rejected the existence of the *Besunzane* in the Nysa River Basin and attempted to place them elsewhere; this is mainly based on various alternative locations for the *urbs magna Businc*¹⁹ that exist in scholarly circles as well as hydro- and toponyms containing the same root as the name *Besunzane*.²⁰ However, none of these ideas are as strongly substantiated as the proposal by Jecht and his followers (cf. here: Nalepa 1954, 317, 323; Billig 1995, 62–63). It is based on several strong premises:

- the possibility of linking the names *Besunzane*/*Phesunzi*, *Businc* and Biesnitz etymologically,²¹
- the presence of the *Besunzane* in the *Bavarian Geographer* amongst the peoples living in the Bóbr and Spree river valleys: the Milčane, the Lužičane and the Dziadoszanie,²²
- the proper interpretation of the route of the 1015 campaign (cf. Nalepa 1954, 312–314; Měřinský 1995, 139).

This interpretation is also consistent with the picture – developed by archaeologists – of the early medieval settlements on the Nysa and the Spree, from which it is clear that the area located in the Upper Nysa Valley should be distinguished as a cluster of settlements separate from the lands of the Milčane *sensu strictiori*, that were located in the Spree valley around Bautzen (see Jaworski 2005, 307–310, *passim*). Therefore, paradoxically, the location of the *Besunzane* near modern Görlitz at the foot of the Landeskrone should be considered to be one of the more reasonable and justified hypotheses on the location of the peoples mentioned in the second part of the *Bavarian Geographer* based on different kinds of primary sources.

The only problem with the localization of the *Besunzane* upon the upper Nysa is that there are two – seemingly, equally probable – hypotheses of a common etymology for the toponym *Businc* (>Biesnitz) and the ethnonym *Besunzane*. One, based on a possessive construction upon a stem **Běžun*’, well known in Polish toponymy, was presented by Jerzy Nalepa (1954); it was also repeated in further works of that

¹⁸ The latest review of the state of the research was provided by Měřinský (1995, 136–138), omitting, however, the texts of Joachim Huth. See also Wenzel 2014a.

¹⁹ Zdeněk Měřinský (1995, 136–139) counted a total of up to fourteen different locations for this castle proposed in the previously-published historical writing.

²⁰ A general overview of these concepts was provided by Nalepa 1954, 306–314 (see also Nalepa 1961) and Spehr 1994, 33, 57.

²¹ Cf. here: Nalepa 1954, 319–322; Billig 1995, 63 and further works cited in fn. 194 there; Wenzel 2014a.

²² This applies both to the mentions of the *Besunzane* and of the *Phesnuzi*, while in the second case the **Slopianie* should be added to the list of neighboring peoples (cf. Nalepa 2003, 12–15).

author (Nalepa 1961; Nalepa 1996; Nalepa 2003). A competing thesis, proposed by Ernst Eichler (1966/1985, 124–125) and developed recently by Walter Wenzel (2014a, 457–458), has linked the forms *Besunzane* and *Businc* with the Slavic name of elder (*Sambucus* L.). The authors of both of these proposals claim to have presented the best solution to the problem of the etymology of *Besunzane*; unfortunately, neither of them conducted a thorough criticism of the counter-thesis. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of historical analysis, the exact etymology of the ethnonym passed to us as *Besunzane* and the place name *Businc* is irrelevant. What is important is that the two best argued, competing hypotheses allow linking all the three names concerned: *Besunzane*/*Phesunzi*, *Businc* and *Biesnitz*.



Figure 2.1: Mount Landeskrona, viewed from the ringfort in Tylice. Photo by K. Fokt, 2009.

2.2.2 The *Besunzane* as an alleged “sub-tribe” of Milčane

While the existence of the *Besunzane* along the Upper Nysa in the late ninth and early tenth centuries is a well-reasoned hypothesis, the political status of this people has recently become a topic of discussion. This occurred when Jasper von Richthofen raised the hypothesis that the *Besunzane* were not an autonomous political organization, but only a “sub-tribe” (*Unterstamm*) of the Milčane (Richthofen 2004, 15–16; Richthofen

2011, 23–24). Unfortunately, von Richthofen did not specify what he meant by the term “sub-tribe” – but one can suppose that he meant – like e.g. Henryk Łowmiański thirty years earlier (Łowmiański 1973, 264, fn. 855) – that the *Besunzane* were a group of people making up a fragment of a greater ethno-political structure of the Milčane.²³ Such multiple-level organization is well known from the lands of the Serbs, between the Elbe – Mulde and the Saale (cf. Schlesinger 1960/1961, 14; Tyszkiewicz 1968, 41; Tyszkiewicz 1981, 123–127), or from Bohemia (Třeštík 2009b, 144–145). The basis of von Richthofen’s hypothesis is the assertion that the *Besunzane* were mentioned only once and then disappeared from the pages of history. The second argument raised by this author is the fact that the village of Görlitz, located in an area that should be attributed to the *Besunzane*, was located *explicite* in Milsko (*in pago Milsca*), i.e. in the land of Milčane, in a royal document dating from 11 December 1071 (MGH DH IV, no. 246). Richthofen’s third and final argument is archaeological and relies on the indication that the early medieval ringforts throughout Upper Lusatia create a dense picture of a single settlement area.

Of these three arguments, the first and third are incorrect and the second clearly anachronistic. The fact that the *Besunzane* were mentioned only in the *Bavarian Geographer* in no way suggests that they were a formation subordinate to the Milčane. Furthermore, if this were so, the author of this census of tribes certainly would not have mentioned the *Besunzane* at all, contenting himself with naming the supposed “great tribe” of the Milčane as he did for the Serbs, the Czechs and the Veletians, and not counting subordinate entities (cf. here Tyszkiewicz 1964, 5, 16). Therefore, since the *Besunzane* were treated as a distinct people, it is likely that the author of the notice, with the knowledge available to him, did not consider them to be “sub-members” of the Milčane but rather as existing independently of them. Additionally, the strength of the second argument of von Richthofen – placing the village of Görlitz in Milsko – proves to be quite weak if one takes into account the amount of military and political turbulence that occurred from the time the *Bavarian Geographer* was written (late ninth or early tenth century) until the royal donation of some possessions in *villa Goreliz* to the Bishopric of Meissen in 1071, when the document quoted above was issued.

The archaeological argument presented by von Richthofen is completely unconvincing. Furthermore, the image of the early medieval settlements in Upper Lusatia obtained from analyzing their relics leads rather to the opposite conclusion. The ringforts surrounding what was probably the eponymic point for the *Besunzane*, the

²³ In the German terminology there is also the term *Untergau* with a probably similar meaning as the one hiding under Richthofen’s *Unterstamm* (cf. Curschmann 1906, 169; cf. Tyszkiewicz 1995, 44; on the highly sophisticated nature of the terminology of the sources see e.g. Hessler 1957, 14–15). Polish scholars also tend to look for sub-tribes (*pod-plemiona*) when they meet contradictory accounts in the primary sources, as in case of the Bobrzanie, which, however, should be treated rather as proof of their helplessness than as a solution of those problems (cf. the recent, clear-headed comments by Rosik 2006, 31–32).

mountain today known as the Landeskronen, are a dense group of fortifications clearly distinct from the Milčane strongholds in the Bautzen region.²⁴ Furthermore, some of these structures are located on the eastern (i.e. the ringfort in Liebstein) and western (the ringforts in Schöps and Melaune) edges of both settlement clusters, suggesting that two separate centers of political power desired this manner of protecting their frontiers. The dating framework for the ringforts of Eastern Upper Lusatia unfortunately does not allow us to ascertain which were created during the time when the *Besunzane* were mentioned in the *Bavarian Geographer*, which somewhat later, and which were built during the time when the *Besunzane* were no longer perceived to be a separate ethno-political entity. The very statement that the ringforts around the Landeskronen represent a separate cluster from those around Bautzen does not conclude with any finality if the *Besunzane* were or were not part of the Milčane political structure from the start. This assertion, however, certainly contradicts von Richthofen's claim that the ringforts from the Nysa and Spree River Basins were clearly elements of a single system.

There is one more important factor which speaks against von Richthofen's concept of the *Besunzane* as a "sub-tribe" of the Milčane. A complex ethno-political structure with two levels of entities called *regiones* in the *Bavarian Geographer* in the area of interest to us can only be found among the Serbs living between the Elbe and the Saale. Structures such as the Milčane, Lužičane, Glomači and *Besunzane* seem to correspond with the *regiones* of a lower order (the second and third groups after Tyszkiewicz 1981, 123–124), such as the *Siusili*, *Chutici* and the *Colodici*, constituting a part of the larger *gens* of the Serbs and being themselves either sub-divided, or not. Thus, if the *Besunzane* at some point became a "sub-tribe" of the Milčane, it should be regarded as a secondary phenomenon that occurred later than when they were mentioned in the *Bavarian Geographer* (cf. a similar interpretation of Tyszkiewicz 1981, 127 and the section 2.3.3 below).

2.3 The control grows tighter: semi-independence, conquest, inclusion

At the time the names of the Milčane and the *Besunzane* first appeared in written records, the groups of people designated by those ethnonyms were still independent of the East Frankish Kingdom, although – due to the fact that they had been written down – they had already garnered some attention of their powerful neighbor. This independence was not to last very long – at least for the Milčane, who after 929, probably around 932

²⁴ This assertion has been confirmed by the analysis performed on the Numeric Terrain Model using the program Arc-GIS carried out by George Indruszewski (2010). Here, I would like to express my gratitude to the author for providing the manuscript of his book, which resulted as part of the project at GWZO in Leipzig.

at the latest, were subdued by the East Frankish king, Henry I the Fowler (919–936) (see Lübke 1985, 56, no. 37, with many further ref.; cf. also: Knothe 1874, 275; Walther 1989b, 86; Blaschke 1990, 59; Schrage 2004b, 32). It was shortly after Henry destroyed the central stronghold of the Glomači, called Gana, and replaced it with the fortress of Meissen, thus creating an abutment of royal political and military power on the Elbe. The military success of Henry resulted in a loose, tributary dependence of the Milčane.²⁵ Nevertheless, as has been shown by some recent archeological investigations, not only direct inclusion of local Slavic societies into the East Frankish/Saxon political system, but even the very proximity of the mighty political center and dangerous military threat from the west resulted in organizational dynamization of the Slavs, which is clearly visible in the subsequent waves of ringfort construction (cf. especially Henning 2002, 135–136; a similar interpretation for Upper Lusatia: Richthofen 2004, 14–15).

As there is not such an impressive assemblage of dendrochronological datings from the ringforts of Upper Lusatia at our disposal as that which has been gathered for the neighboring Lower Lusatia, one cannot state for sure that the chronology and dynamic of ringfort construction in both these regions was similar. However, the testimony of pottery findings from the strongholds of Upper Lusatia – the ceramics of “middle Slavic” technological and stylistic group, among it the Tornow type vessels (cf. details in the corpus of those findings: Herrman, Donat eds. 1985, and in the App. 2) – does not leave any doubt that the chronology of Upper Lusatian ringforts was more-or-less the same as that of similar features known from the Lower Lusatia (cf. Richthofen 2004, 13). This means that they were roughly contemporary with the first written mention of the Milčane and *Besunzane* in the *Bavarian Geographer*, i.e. the Slavic fortified settlements of Upper Lusatia were generally built in the late ninth and tenth centuries. This means that from the very beginning of their history at least the Milčane were exposed to some influence of the East Frankish realm and from 929: to its direct pressure. The *Besunzane* may have felt safer from the Saxon threat – which may explain why, according to the *Bavarian Geographer*, they had only two *civitates* (probably fortified settlements) while the Milčane had thirty. On the other hand, they were exposed – more than the Milčane – to the influence or even expansion of the local Slavic power center, the realm of the Přemyslids.

2.3.1 The Milčane as a part of the Saxon political system and the Eurasian network of long-distance trade

Perhaps the most striking phenomenon in the history of the Milčane is the very long period of political autonomy they enjoyed, which only came to an end during the reign of Ekkehard I in Meissen (985/987–1002). For the 940's and 950's one may

²⁵ The respective passus in the chronicle of Thietmar, I 16, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 22-23: *Ex ea [scil. Misni] Milzenos suae subactos dicioni censum persolvere coegit.*

suppose that King Otto the Great (936–973) simply had enough different concerns on other fronts (on the narrative history of that period, see: Holtzmann 1941/55, 115–206; Althoff 2005, 69–108). Some scholars have even claimed that around 936 Meissen was lost by the Kingdom and, subsequently, the Milčane became independent from Saxon overlordship (Schrage 1999, 204–205; Spehr 1994, 37–40; Stieldorf 2012, 431–432); the most radical of these was Józef Widajewicz (1948, 32), who supposed that the period of re-gained independence of the Milčane lasted until their final conquest by Margrave Ekkehard I at the very end of the tenth century. He was certainly wrong, as according to the foundation charter of the Bishopric of Meissen dating from the year 971 (MGH DO I, no. 406) the Milčane at that time were paying tribute to Otto the Great on par with the other Slavic tribes in this part of Polabia. Nevertheless, the hypothesis of a period of the weakening of Saxon supremacy over the most distant Polabian polities after 936 is not entirely unfounded.

Whether it holds true or not, it is, however, not their supposed return to independence that is most striking in the history of the Milčane, but a significantly different date of them finally losing their autonomy, compared to the neighboring Lužičane in Lower Lusatia. As already stated above, this happened under the Margrave Ekkehard I, in fact not earlier than in 987, when this Saxon count recovered Meissen from the possession of the Přemyslid Duke of Prague, Boleslav II (936–972). The Milčane were thus able to retain their own ethno-political structure for an entire generation longer than the neighboring Lužičane – who had already been conquered in 963 by Margrave Gero – despite being tightly hemmed in by powerful and aggressive polities. To explain this phenomenon, one should turn to the sources whose presence in Milsko clearly distinguishes these lands from Lower Lusatia, i.e. the former land of Lužičane: the tenth-century silver hoards deposited there.²⁶ These hoards are the remnants of what Slavic traders received for the goods they supplied – mainly slaves, who were sent either via the Scandinavians to Sāmānid-dominated Central Asia or via Germany to the Ūmayyad caliphate on the Iberian Peninsula.

Among the known silver hoards from Upper Lusatia, the deposits from Kamenz (tpq 936), Bischdorf (tpq 949/950), Meschwitz (tpq 961/962) and Bautzen (tpq 965) can be designated as having been accumulated and hidden in the era of Milčane self-rule. None of them include any admixture either of popular German coins from the late tenth century, particularly what are known as Otto-Adelheid pennies, nor Czech denari, which suggests that they were probably hidden not long after their *termini post quem* (further: tpq). Two of these hoards (Meschwitz and Bischdorf) contained Sāmānid and Abbasid coins, three of them (Meschwitz, Bischdorf and Bautzen) included ornaments, and three included western coins (in Bautzen and Meschwitz these were alongside eastern coins, and in Kamenz as the only monetary element of

²⁶ The oldest silver deposit from Lower Lusatia is from Ragow and dates only from the eleventh century (tpq 1002).

the hoard).²⁷ The composition of these hoards shows quite clearly that the Milčane accepted the northern, Scandinavian custom of burying silver treasure. The same, northeastern direction of contact with Scandinavia is suggested by the finding of a scabbard chape from Nimschütz near Bautzen (Coblentz 1975; Coblentz 1988; on the typological assignment of this find see Sikora 2003, 17–18). On the other hand, the composition of the abovementioned hoards does not leave any doubt that the Milčane were active in both trading systems – Eastern and Western. The chronology of the hoards from Kamenz and Bischdorf suggest that their entering trade relations with the East and West could have occurred more or less at the same time, and the composition of the hoard from Meschwitz proves that the Milčane – like the Stodorans, who lived further north and should be associated with the hoard from Paretz (tpq 965) – coped well with the linking of these two systems.



Figure 2.2: Scabbard chape from Nimschütz by Bautzen, scale 1:1. After: Jaworski 2005, Fig. 7.

²⁷ About the composition and dating of the hoards: Dutschmann 1926; Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 219, 225-227; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 116, 127, 148-149, Abb. 107/82, 112/5; Richthofen ed. 2004, 96, 112-113, Abb. 27-28, 69. I have presented more detailed analysis of this question in the text “Silver Hoarding in Upper Lusatia in the Tenth-Early Eleventh centuries,” presented at the Oriental Numismatics Workshop: Monetary Circulation in tenth-c. Northern Europe, Wolfson College, Oxford, 1-2 August 2011; the proceedings of this scholarly event are to be published. See also below, 71.

It seems that here lies the key to solving the riddle of why the kings of the Liudolfing dynasty as well as the margraves acting on their behalf left political autonomy to the Milčane until approximately 990, while the neighboring Lužičane disappeared as a separate polity in 963. Most likely, it was more profitable for the Saxon elites to collect tributes from the Milčane when they remained under the rule of their own elite rather than directly subjugate their country and create their own tribute-collecting apparatus. As demonstrated by the long list of goods and levies subject to tribute included in the royal foundation charter of the Bishopric of Meissen (MGH DO I, no. 406), the benefits structure for the local Slavs vis-à-vis the Liudolfing monarchy was quite complex.²⁸ Furthermore, an important place was given on this list to long-distance trade goods (slaves and furs) as well as the silver obtained from this trade (cf. Lübke 1993). Thus, it seems that the Milčane elite was so well-organized and resolute in their activities that they were able to obtain goods coveted by their powerful neighbor in such quantities that they satisfied its appetite. As indicated by the structure of the silver hoards discovered in Upper Lusatia, the capital accumulated by the Milčane in large part came from beyond the Empire and its immediate spheres of influence, which – at least until some moment in time – guaranteed them the stability and durability of their autonomy.

Moreover, there is an indication that shows that the Milčane were likely treated by their Saxon overlords as worthy and honorable enough for intermarriage. Such a conclusion was drawn by Herbert Ludat (1971, 20–31) from his sophisticated – though in my opinion convincing – reasoning, in which he identified a certain *senior venerabilis* Dobromir, mentioned once in the chronicles of Thietmar of Merseburg (IV, 58),²⁹ as a chieftain of the Milčane. Based upon the names of Emnildis, the daughter of Dobromir, and his grand-daughter Regilindis (the daughter of Emnildis and Bolesław the Brave), Ludat hypothesised aptly that Dobromir must have married, probably around the years 963–973, some woman from one of the houses of eminent counts of Saxony (Ludat 1971, 22–23, *passim*; see also Korta 1990, 159 and further literature quoted in the fn. 97–98 there). Moreover, Dobromir successfully prolonged this “run of luck”, as can be seen in his finding husbands for his daughters among the strongest rulers surrounding Milsko: the Piasts and the Ekkehardines. As already mentioned, Emnildis became the wife of Bolesław the Brave, the son of Mieszko I, while her sister

²⁸ The *decimae per totum et per integrum* were, according to the charter, paid in following goods and services: *in melle, crusinis, solucione argenti, mancipiis, vestimentis, porcis, frumento et in inquirendis rebus quod vulgo ueberchoufunga vocatur*.

²⁹ MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 198: *Tercia [scil., uxor Boleszlavi] fuit Emnildis, edita a venerabili seniore Dobremiro, quae Christo fidelis ad omne bonum instabilem coniugis sui mentem declinavit et immensa elemosinarum largitate et abstinentia utriusque maculas abluere non desistit* (see also the respective fragment from the Corvey version of the chronicle on page 199, different in details from the oldest MS). For other attempts of identifying Dobromir than the hypothesis of Ludat (as a Duke of Pomeranians, Stodorans, Moravians and Wiślanie), see Korta 1990, 156–160.

of unknown name probably married Gunzelin, the younger brother of Ekkehard I (see Thietmar V 18, V 36 and VI 54: MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 241, 260–261, 340–341; cf. Ludat 1971, 20–31; Rupp 1996, 95–97, *passim*; Lübke 1986, 49, no. 246; Lübke 2000, 75). Such prestigious marriages of Dobromir's daughters, following his own marriage to a Saxon lady, suggest that the Milčane could have been a much more important factor in Western Slavdom than has been supposed (cf. here Blaschke 1990, 67–68).

2.3.2 The *Besunzane* and their possible position in the Saxon-Bohemian struggle

The *Besunzane*, although they occupied a much smaller territory than their western neighbors, also did not exist in a geopolitical vacuum. Circumstantial archaeological evidence assiduously collected by Krzysztof Jaworski (2005, 49–50, 308) – especially the artifacts discovered in the hillfort in Niedów, of Czech and Old Magyar origin (see Fig. 2.3) – suggests that they were likely in close contact with the Czechs. The southern direction of these cultural ties is also proven by a bottle-shaped ceramic vessel discovered in the ringfort on the Landeskrone (von Richthofen 2003, 286, Abb. 17), as well as findings of raw graphite in the ringforts of Eastern Upper Lusatia (von Richthofen 2003, 284, fn. 60).³⁰ The nature of the available sources makes it impossible to determine what kind of contact is being discussed here: the arrival to the *Besunzane* of militaria and elements of riding gear suggests, however, that they belonged to Prague's political and military sphere of influence (cf. Jaworski 2005, 308–309). Interestingly, a similar cluster of Old Magyar imports – for which the Czech lands were probably a secondary distribution center at the time (cf. Wachowski 1997, 33, 61, 64; Jaworski 2005, 268, 284, 285) – was identified on the territory of the Trzebowianie in the Kaczawa Basin. This relative abundance of movable artifacts of Old Magyar and Czech provenance on the Nysa and Kaczawa contrasts with the lack of similar finds on the Spree.

Dating the artifacts of southern provenance discovered in the areas occupied by the *Besunzane* and the Trzebowianie is not in and of itself precise enough to give them an undisputed place in a specific historical context. A glance at their wider geopolitical background leaves no doubt, however, that – if we accept the hypothesis that they reflect the affiliation of both these peoples to the Czech political-military system – the period of their use by the *Besunzane* and Trzebowianie likely fell during the creation of the ephemeral Bohemian “empire” of Boleslav I (935–972; on Boleslav's role, see Žemlička 1997, 37–39, *passim*). More specifically, we can link them to the first part of his

³⁰ With regard to the hillfort in Niedów, it should be stated that the older phase of this structure was most likely associated only with graphite findings because the vessels produced with an admixture of graphite should be associated with the younger phase, dating from the late tenth and first half of the eleventh centuries (Śledzik-Kamińska 1989, 89; Jaworski 2005, 47, fn. 257).

reign, when he was in conflict with Otto I and took a step analogous to that of Henry the Fowler and the Magyars a generation before: in order to secure his frontiers, he built up a zone of alliances and influence among the local Slavs. It is less likely that Boleslav would have taken such actions in the latter part of his reign (after 950), when he was already cooperating and allied with Otto; in this period he was rather busy expanding his influence to the east towards Kiev (Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 133–239; cf. Třeštík 2009a, 89). The role of the *Besunzane* in this system was clear – they acted as a foothold to prevent easy incursions into Bohemia through the Nysa Valley and at the same time kept in check the closest of Otto's tributaries in the region, the Milčane.

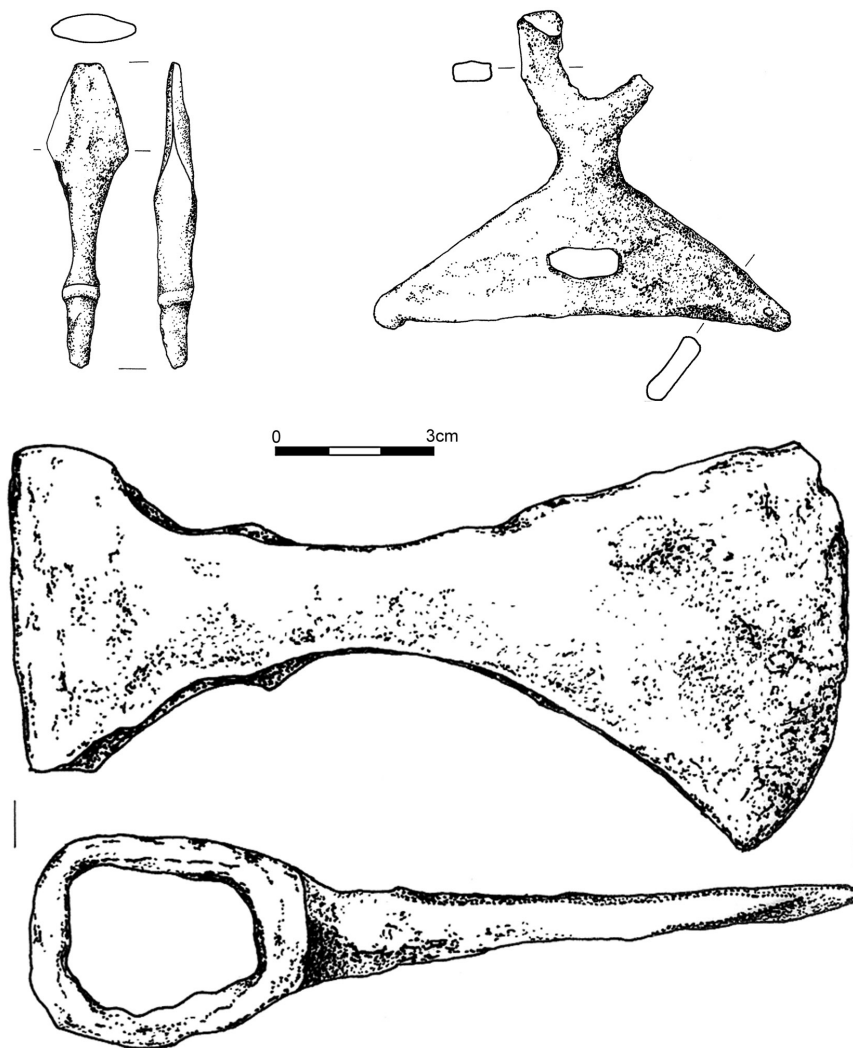


Figure 2.3: Finds of Old Magyar and Czech provenance from the hillfort no. 1 in Niedów. After: Jaworski 2005, Fig. 8.

This front-line position of the *Besunzane* sheds new light on the issue of their disappearance from the sources between the late ninth or early tenth centuries (*Bavarian Geographer*) and the early 970's, when they were not mentioned in descriptions of the area by either of the neighboring dioceses of Meissen (MGH DO I, no. 406) and Prague (*dispositio* of MGH DH IV, no. 390), which date from 971 and ca. 973 respectively (on the dating of the latter, see lately Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 170–219, with further ref., and cf. Ožóg 2015, 54, 68). Furthermore, in the so-called Prague Document of 1086 (MGH DH IV, no. 390), the Milčane were depicted as neighboring through the frontier wilderness with the tribes subordinate to the Duke of Prague, the Bobrzanie and the Dziadoszanie.³¹ Also less than two decades later, in the years 990/992, according to the *Dagome Iudex* register, not the *Besunzane* but the Milčane were mentioned as direct southwestern neighbors of the Piast realm.³² One may, of course, follow Krystyna Pieradzka (1948, 40–41) and Jerzy Nalepa (1996, 38–39) and suppose that around the years 990/992 the *Besunzane* had still not been absorbed by the Milčane, but existed within the Piast sphere of influence. This seems, however, improbable when compared with the above-mentioned charters dating from the 970's, which listed virtually all ethno-political entities of the area from the viewpoints of two competing bishoprics and none of them knew the *Besunzane*. Therefore, already in the 970's, the *Besunzane* did not exist as a separate ethno-political entity, but rather were incorporated into the political organization of the Milčane. Shifting from the local to the supra-regional context, it follows that at a certain point between 935–971 there was a shift of influence in favor of the Liudolfings, to the detriment of the Přemyslids.

The disappearance of the *Besunzane* during this period suggests that this event did not take place through a peaceful transfer of power, as one then would expect their survival as a separate ethno-political unit. The context of the disappearance of the *Besunzane* from the pages of the histories suggests that this event took place during the period of the confrontations between Otto I and Boleslav I between 935–950. This interpretation of the events on the Nysa helps explain why relations between the two rulers were presented in the chronicler's account as being on a war footing for 14 years (see in the chronicle Widukind of Corvey, II 3, MGH SS rer. Germ. 60, 69–70), although German annals and chronicles were generally silent during these years on a direct Czech-Saxon conflict. This “phoney war” probably took place in the form of inter-tribal guerilla warfare on the frontiers of these two rulers' zones of influence. In all likelihood, among the victims of this score settling were the *Besunzane*. Their position in the Czech defense system on the northern fringe of the principality – now

³¹ Beginning from the forest dividing Bohemia: *Psouane, Chrouati et altera Chrouati, Zlasane, Trebouane, Pobarane, Dedosize, usque ad mediam siluam, qua Milcianorum occurrunt termini*.

³² Beginning from the mysterious *Alemure*, maybe situated in Moravia: *et ab ipsa Alemura usque in terram Milze, et a fine Milze recte intra Odere...* (see Kürbisówna 1962, 395).

withdrawn to the east – was taken over by the Bobrzanie. It cannot be even ruled out that the latter tribe generally was created on an *ad hoc* basis in order to supplement the gap in Prague's tributary system and was formed after the absorption of the *Besunzane* by the *Milčane*.³³

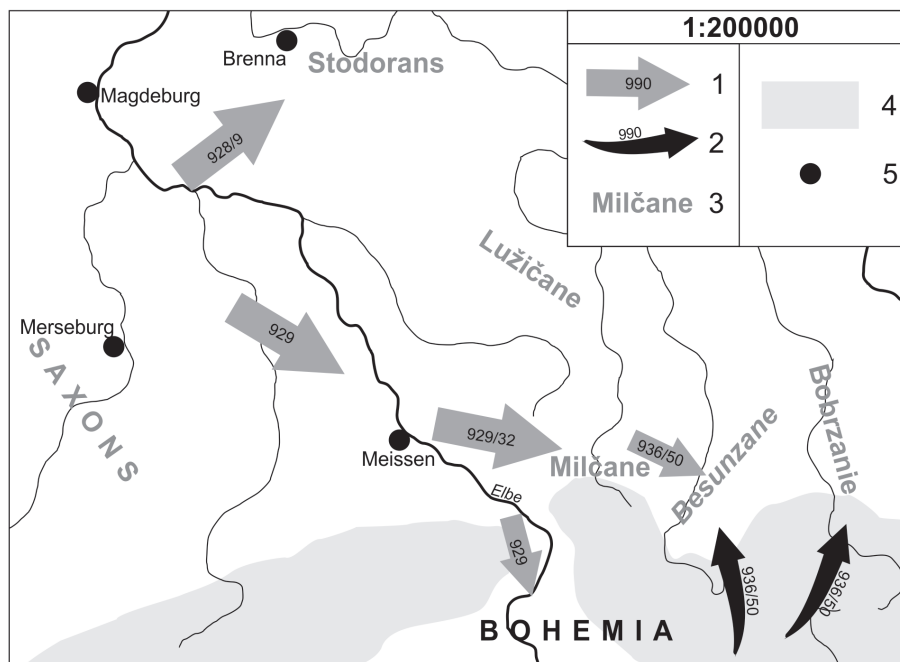


Figure 2.4: Saxon expansion in the southern Polabia with special focus on Upper Lusatia. Designed by K. Fokt, drawn by Janusz Szyszka. 1. Military actions of Saxons and their allies. 2. Influence of the Přemyslid polity under Boleslav I. 3. Relevant polities and ethnopolicies. 4. Mountainous areas. 5. Important fortified settlements.

The possible course of events on the frontier of the Czech and Saxon spheres of influence between 930–970 presented here is a highly hypothetical proposition, as would be any reconstruction of the political developments of this period, which are only dimly illuminated in the primary documents. Verification could be provided only through new excavations of the ringforts attributed to the *Milčane*, *Besunzane* and *Bobrzanie* and obtaining samples of charred wood suitable for dendrochronological analysis. However, the concept presented above seems to be logical and consistent

³³ The thesis that the *Bobrzanie* could have been an *ad hoc* ethno-political formation created still in the period of domination of predatory dynastic polities (so-called early states) was already, quite recently, presented by Stanisław Rosik (2006, 32).

for explaining the currently available data derived from written and material sources. This sufficiently justifies its presentation in print as a proposal for further research, particularly that it allows (admittedly at the expense of smaller probabilities) for greater chronological precision.³⁴

2.3.3 The conquest of the *Besunzane* by the Milčane: depopulation or inclusion?

The comments above regarding the economic background of the Milčane's activities shed new light on the question of their conquest of the *Besunzane*. Since the Milčane participated in the international trafficking of people, likely acting as the first link in the eastern and western chains of contractors, we can assume that the conquered neighboring tribe was an occasion for them to acquire a large amount of goods. Keeping in mind the known chronology of the silver hoards of Milsko (tpq's 936, 949/950, 961/962 and 965 AD) and comparing it to the most likely dates of the conquest (935–950), it is difficult to deny the relevance of this connection. Knowing that the disappearance of the *Besunzane* was in all likelihood violent in nature, it should be considered not only possible, but even probable that part of them were sent to slave markets in the East and West. The issue of the depopulation caused by this conquest is, however, a separate one.

In this regard, we are condemned to assumptions, since the relevant events unfolded at a pace too fast to be visible through the prism of the archaeological materials currently available. We have, however, several premises that militate against the idea that the long-term depopulation of the lands of the *Besunzane* resulted from their conquest by the Milčane. Here, it is worth referring to the information from the chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg on the events of the year 1015. During the siege of the *urbs magna Businc*, the ringfort in the former land of the *Besunzane* on Landeskrona Mountain, the Duke of Bohemia Oldřich (Udalric) took more than a thousand prisoners, not counting women and children.³⁵ Although the chronicler most probably was exaggerating (cf. Richthofen 2004, 18; Schrage 2004b, 39; Strzelczyk 2014, 116), it should certainly be noted that the number of prisoners made

³⁴ So far, the dates proposed for the conquest of the *Besunzane* by the Milčane operate not in decades, but centuries: late ninth-tenth (Tyszkiewicz 1968, 64), ninth-eleventh (Tyszkiewicz 1995, 46) or the tenth-eleventh (Lehmann 1958, 95; Knebel 1983, 165; Knebel 1987, 8). The proposal by Krystyna Pieradzka (1948, 42) dating the conquest to the year 1000, should be regarded as a misunderstanding and a completely unfounded hypothesis, resulting from incorrect assumptions, is the dating of the “blending” of core area of the Milčane and the land of the *Besunzane* between 1015 and 1071 proposed by Gerhard Billig (1995, 66; cf. here also sub-chapters 5.3–V.4 below).

³⁵ Thietmar VII 19, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 420–421: *Namque Othelricus quandam urbem magnam Businc dictam petiit et in ea non minus quam mille viros absque mulieribus et liberis capiens, incendit eandem et victor remeavit.*

an impression on contemporaries and the fact of their capture was in and of itself worth describing. This unambiguously indicates that despite several dozen years of war, the lands on the Nysa were still quite densely populated in 1015, which would be less likely if the area had been depopulated a few decades before by the conquest of the *Besunzane* by the Milčane. Additionally, the chronology of the ringforts in Tylice and Niedów (respective details available in Appendix 7.2) demonstrates that there was enough manpower in this area at the end of the tenth century to build these defensive structures. It can therefore be concluded that the *Besunzane* were probably not treated by the Milčane *en masse* as spoils of war; this sad fate was met only by their descendants in 1015 at the hands of the Czechs.

It is also clear that the former lands of the *Besunzane* occupied a minor place within the Milčane political structure following their incorporation into it. This is indicated by the locations of the tenth- and eleventh-century silver hoards, all of which were discovered in the western and central parts of Upper Lusatia, i.e. in the “native” lands of the Milčane. The oldest known silver coin discovered in the former lands of the *Besunzane* is a Bohemian denier of Břetislav I (1034–1055) found in Zawidów (Haisig, Kiersnowski, Reyman 1966, 62; Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, 147, no. 83), while the oldest silver hoard coming from that area is the one from Königshain (tpq 1046).³⁶ It can therefore be supposed that even if some members of the *Besunzane* elite survived the conquest, they were not included in the most lucrative source of income, long-distance trade, by the victorious Milčane.

The reign of the Milčane over the Nysa region did not last long, at least in terms of the historical scale to which we have become accustomed, with its strong emphasis on “long-lasting” phenomena. Despite this, the consequences of the conquest of the *Besunzane* by the Milčane proved to be surprisingly enduring. Even after the loss of autonomy by the Milčane, the lands located on the Upper Nysa were perceived in the interested centers of political power as part of Milsko, just as the “native” country of the Milčane upon the Spree. This perspective mainly makes political sense, as there is no doubt that the former lands of the *Besunzane* – up until the momentum generated by the colonization of the countryside and the ensuing land-clearing around 1200 – long retained a certain topographical autonomy from the “original” Milsko located in the Spree River Valley. The disappearance of the lands of the *Besunzane* as a separate territory from the sources demonstrates, however, the effectiveness of the act of conquest carried out by the Milčane, confirming the care they took in consolidating their power in this area.

³⁶ This hoard originates from Königshain once in the county Görlitz, not Königshain, once in the county Zittau, currently Działoszyn in Poland: see below, in the section 7.1.3.

2.3.4 The end of a succesful ethnarchy: incorporation of Milsko into the March of Meissen

The political autonomy of the Milčane was brought to an end by Ekkehard I, the Margrave of Meissen, who – in the words of Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg – “deprived them of their innate liberty.”³⁷ Given that the Milčane had been paying tribute to the German kings since 929/932 – maybe with some interruption after 936, which, however, lasted no longer than until ca. 968/971 (see above, in the sub-chapter 2.3.1) – the words of the chronicler quoted above should be read as evidence of the direct incorporation of Milsko into Ekkehard’s March (cf. Knothe 1874, 275; a different view was presented by Trillmich 1991, 77).

The exact date of that event is unknown and cannot be determined from the currently available sources. It certainly took place during the reign of Ekkehard I, more precisely in 985/987 or later as it was only then that the Margrave was able to take over Meissen, which had been given to him and until then had been occupied by the Czechs (on the period of the Czech occupation of Meissen see: Schrage 2004b, 32–33; Sobiesiak 2006, 84–85; Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 270–278, with further ref.). The exact *terminus ad quem* for the incorporation of Milsko into the political structure of the March of Meissen should be 30 April 1002, when Ekkehard was assassinated. A slightly earlier date of 999 is also possible if the local tradition that the first church in Milsko – of course, in Budyšin – was founded that year is reliable (see Schlesinger 1962, 206; Spehr 1994, 28–29). A sure starting point for dating the time that Milsko was incorporated into the March of Meissen could also be derived from the eleventh-century excerpt of some charter, the so-called *Dagome iudex*, the contents of which should reflect the state of affairs at the end of the reign of Mieszko I (d. 25 May 992). Unfortunately, while *terra Milze* was indeed mentioned in this source as one of the points used to describe the boundaries of “the city of Gniezno with its pertinences” (see Kürbisówna 1962, 395), this description does not in any way help settle the question of if it was then directly part of the March of Meissen or not. Therefore, any time in the period 985/987–1002 should be seriously considered as the possible date for the incorporation of Milsko into the March of Meissen (see the various proposals brought together by Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 280, fn. 230–232), although the geopolitical context of that event suggests that it would have occurred closer to 985/987 than 1002 (999 resp.).

The abovementioned geopolitical context includes the spectacular clash of Mieszko I on one side and Boleslav II on the other, during which the ruler of Gniezno captured the trans-Sudetan appurtenances of the Duke of Prague (989–990). Until

³⁷ Thietmar, V 7, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 228–229: [Ekkehardus] Milzien[t]os a libertate inolita servitutis iugo constrict.

then, maintaining the autonomy of the Milčane, who were led by a rather self-aware and at least partially baptized elite,³⁸ was technically the easiest solution from the perspective of the Margrave and his predecessors. As soon as it came, however, to military confrontation on a vast scale, establishing direct contact with his Piast allies and the direct control of the roads leading from Bohemia through the Sudetes into the Nysa and Spree river valleys became extremely important not only for Ekkehard but also for the central authority of the Empire: the regency that governed its interests in the name of Otto III. It was indispensable for the Margrave and the Emperor to maintain close contact with Mieszko and – what may have been even more crucial – to prevent the Czechs from practically reviving their “Auld Alliance” with the Veletians.

In such geopolitical circumstances a family pact between the Ekkehardines and the Piasts was concluded, reinforced by a double marriage of members of those dynasties with the daughters of the presumed last chieftain of the Milčane, Dobromir. Using sophisticated circumstantial inferences, which are not directly supported by the available sources, Herbert Ludat (1971, 26–31) made a plausible case for the marriage of Ekkehard’s younger brother Gunzelin to the daughter of the “venerable elder” Dobromir as the element legitimizing Ekkehard’s rule in Milsko, as it made him related by marriage to the local Milčane elite. This marriage took place around 987 and became an element of a greater dynastic combination that also included the Piasts with the marriage of Bolesław, the eldest son of Mieszko I of Poland, to another of Dobromir’s daughters, Emnildis (cf. here: Lübke 1986, 49–51, nos. 246a–246b).³⁹ The point of this pact between the two dynasties was undoubtedly directed against the Přemyslids: the incorporation of Milsko by Ekkehard could be read as an element of protecting Meissen’s frontiers and, simultaneously, of the fresh acquisitions of the Piasts in the Odra catchment basin against Czech retaliation. This dynastic understanding between Ekkehard I and Bolesław I the Brave, who in 992 became the Prince of all Poland, gained a deeper dimension when both of these rulers became close associates of the King (from 996 on: Emperor) Otto III, holding independent authority since 994. The Margrave of Meissen and the Prince of Poland were supporters of Otto’s eastern policies, which were based on fighting the pagan Veletians as well as keeping the Czech Přemyslids at bay.

³⁸ It seems improbable that Saxon aristocrats of that time married their daughters to “hounds”, as worshipers of the pagan gods were called in the so-called Chronicle of Fredegar three centuries earlier.

³⁹ Ludat’s hypothesis is the best hitherto proposed to explain why Thietmar of Merseburg (VI 54, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 340–341) called Bolesław I the Brave and Gunzelin “brothers”.

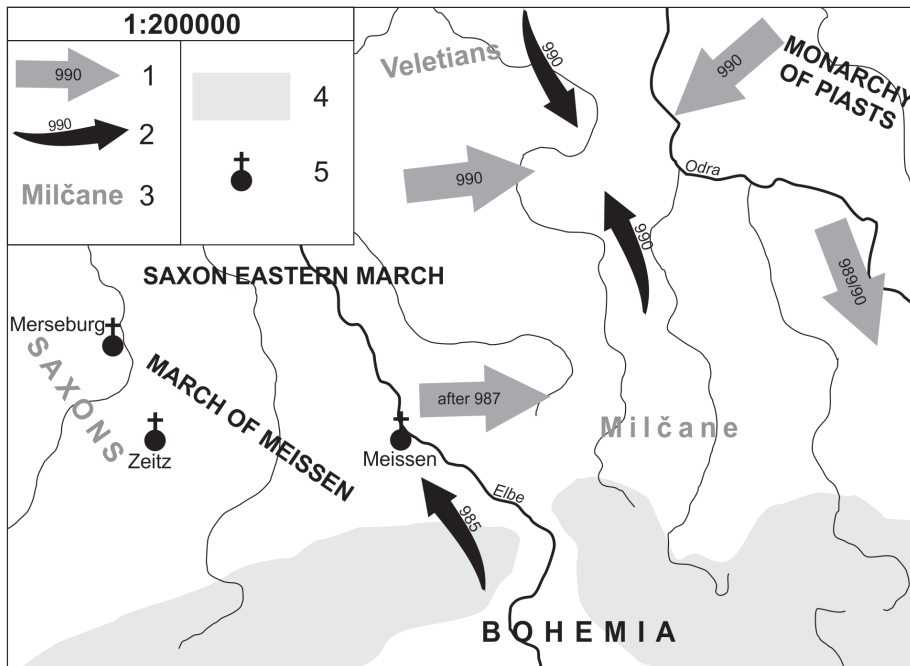


Figure 2.5: General situation in southern Polabia in the 980s/990s. Designed by K. Fokt, drawn by Janusz Szyszka. 1. Military actions of Saxons and their allies. 2. Military actions of Boleslav II and his allies. 3. Relevant polities and ethnopolities. 4. Mountainous areas. 5. Seats of bishoprics.

Due to the existence of the dynastic rights of the Ekkehardines to Milsko, its incorporation into the March of Meissen should not be viewed as a military conquest by Margrave Ekkehard. Regardless, these hypotheses are not supported by any of the written or material sources.⁴⁰ From the perspective of the Milčane political elite, the Margrave of Meissen having direct power over their country could be no bad thing, after all. This event opened broad career opportunities for at least for some of the Milčane nobles and warriors. It is worth remembering that among the known names of the vassals of the margraves of the Ekkehardine dynasty there were many Slavic ones (cf. Patze

⁴⁰ The conquest of Milčane by Ekkehard was viewed as a military confrontation, i.e., by Henryk Łowmiański (1973, 265) or Józef Widajewicz (1948, 32); the question must be asked, however, to what extent such theses are supported by the primary sources and not the post-war paradigm of “perpetual Slavic – German hostility” and “1000-years of struggle” between Poland and Germany.

1962, 118–119).⁴¹ Furthermore, these names are known from royal documents attesting the donations made on their behalf by the German kings through the mediation of the margraves. A very interesting testimony of the career of a warrior – maybe one of the Milčane – first in the service of Piasts and then of Ekkehardines could be the silver hoard from Cortnitz, most of which was probably gathered before 1031 but then supplemented and hidden after 1031 (cf. the details in the Appendix 7.1.2).

From the perspective of the country's common residents, the change from an autonomous tributary to the direct rule by the margraves also would have made little difference if it were not associated with an increase in fiscal pressure. Judging by the fact that the sources are silent on the topic of revolts and uprisings in Milsko, one must assume that Ekkehard I probably acted much more diplomatically towards the Milčane than his counterpart from the Northern March, Theoderic of Haldensleben, did towards the Veletian tribes, where his excessive oppression led to their great revolt in 983.

From the perspective of studies on the local power structures, it is significant that the local network of ringforts presumably survived to a large extent in Milsko. This phenomenon is not seen in detail due to the state of the archaeological research, but from the perspective of retrospective historical settlement studies it can be stated that the ringfort districts (burgwards) in Milsko were generally smaller than their counterparts on the Elbe in the native area of the March of Meissen (cf. Billig 1989, 79, 108, *passim*; Billig 1995, 57–62). Regardless of the fact that this particular state of affairs could be influenced by other contingent forces – such as the outbreak of the war between Henry II and Bolesław the Brave in 1002 – it is hard to avoid the assertion that a number of small ringfort districts were erected in Milsko in a manner that deviated from the way they were created after the German conquest in nearby Lower Lusatia. Almost all of the Lower Lusatian pre-conquest ringforts were abandoned and replaced with few much larger ones (Henning 2004, 156–158, *passim*) and the ringfort districts known from the sources such as the Niemcza burgward were of significant size in contrast to their Upper Lusatian counterparts (on Niemcza and its burgward see Domański 1993; Schrage 1998; both with further ref.).

Despite the mild – as far as we can assume – course of incorporating the lands of the Milčane into the March of Meissen, this event opened a new era in the history of the lands located in the upper reaches of the Spree and Nysa. Milsko ceased to exist as an ethno-political entity, but, like the neighboring lands of the Glomači (*Daleminze*) and Lužičane, it survived as a separate territory subordinate to the

⁴¹ In fact, even much later there were more *milites* with Slavic than with Christian or German names in the retinue of Egbert II (see CDS 2–1, no. 32; cf. the comments of Labuda 1960, 204, *passim*, on the authenticity of the *testatio*). See also interesting cases of convincing – by threats or pleas – foreign warriors to join their armies by northern Slavic rulers of the tenth – early twelfth centuries, gathered by Łowmiański (1985, 44–48).

German margrave ruling in Meissen. The fortress of Budyšin gained an eminent place in the new organization of the country, as it was located in a strategically important area where the north-south (Spree River Valley) and east-west (oecumene spreading throughout the Lausitzer Gefilde) communication routes crossed. Eastern Upper Lusatia – formerly the lands of the *Besunzane* – remained a distant frontier for Milsko; there is no indication that the direct annexation of the Milčane's lands to the March of Meissen contributed in any way to a change of status for this sub-region.

2.4 Upper Lusatia in the tenth century: boundary, but not a margin

The sketch on the settlement and geopolitical realities of Upper Lusatia in the tenth century AD, presented in this chapter, was born in a constant struggle – hopefully, not very evident for the reader – with the shadows of the past historiography. Every student of Western Slavdom recalls basic clichés, through which the history of Polabia has been viewed in the past three centuries of more or less critical research, e.g. the Romantic idea of idyllic and peaceful Slav, the nationalistic view of civilizing the Slavic “savages” as an element of German cultural mission in the East or the reaction of Polish and Bohemian historiographies, which presented Polabia as a bastion of Slavic resistance against the wicked and merciless German *Drang nach Osten*. Even without knowing it, the historian is jammed between views and stereotypes of national historiographies, or rather of the historical writing of his or her own nation. Only a few decades after the Second World War, however, attempts were made to overturn the domination of such narrow viewpoints and obsolete stereotypes. A very important step on this way was the study of Herbert Ludat (1971), in which the author consequently stressed that the family of Dobromir in Upper Lusatia was not only an object, but also active subject of political and diplomatic interactions with other polities of that time, including the East Frankish Kingdom and the energetic emergent polities of the Piasts and the Přemyslids. It should be also added here that it was also not the German *Drang nach Osten* that ended the independence of the Milčane, but the conflict of the Liudolfings, their Saxon counts and the Piasts with the Přemyslids and the Veletians. Thus, the autonomous polity of the Milčane fell victim not to some imaginative nationalist German aggression, but to quite rational strategic calculations of the actors of the struggle, including their own elite.

Although it was not expressed in the beginning of this chapter, my idea was to follow Ludat, without adapting some of his fantastic ideas (e.g. the vision of the alleged link between the family of Dobromir and the dynasty of Stodorans), at the same time adding, however, some new insights into not only the written accounts but also the material evidence. This mode of inquiry contributed to better understanding the geopolitical contexts of the history of Upper Lusatia in the tenth century. It appeared that the Slavic ethnopolities of the Milčane and the *Besunzane* did not exist

in a vacuum but were closely collaborating with the conflicting regional superpowers: the Liudolfings and the Přemyslids. It even seems that the 14-year war between Otto I and Boleslav I was not a frontal clash of those rulers but actually a guerilla in the borderland, where their tributaries and allies met. It resulted with such dramatic events, as the “swallowing” of the *Besunzane* – probably allied with Bohemia – by the Milčane, subordinates of the Saxons. Obviously, such the course of political and military events outlined above is a highly hypothetical one; it fits, however, very well into the geopolitical realities of the mid-tenth century.

According to the analysis of both written and material sources, presented above, it was not a blind chance that the Milčane survived as an autonomous – though not sovereign – polity to the very end of the tenth century, while their neighbors, the Lužičane, fell victim to East Frankish expansion already in 963. The Milčane owed their semi-independent existence to their ability to cooperate with the Saxon elites and provide them incomes, some of which were gathered – as the silver hoards of the tenth century suggest – through their participation in lucrative trade enterprises. Dobromir, the only chieftain of the Milčane known by name, also did not neglect another powerful force, which appeared on the East-Central European geopolitical theatre in the mid-tenth century: the Piasts. His daughters, being already blood relatives to the Saxon elite, married prominent members of the Piast and Ekkehardine families, so that it is no wonder that the rivalry over the heritage of Dobromir shaped the history of the region still for a few decades after the autonomous polity of the Milčane vanished because of the clash of the Liudolfing, Piast and Přemyslid regional powers in the late tenth century.

The disappearance of a tiny people existing amidst strong and greedy polities seems to have been inevitable. We do not know, however, the exact course of the events. After all, knowing how effectively the Milčane played their role in the geopolitical puzzle of the tenth century, one may even speculate that the incorporation of Milsko into one of the Saxon marches was not the only possible solution. After all, the “uneven friendship” of the Saxons and the Milčane survived the breakdown of the margraves’ dominion in northern Polabia in 983 and was replaced with direct rule of Saxon counts only in the face of the rebirth of the “Auld Alliance” of the Přemyslids and the Veletians and the confrontation of the former with the Piasts. In fact, in the uneasy circumstances of the late tenth century, even some accidental causes – as the probable lack of a male heir of Dobromir – could have erased the ethnopolity of the Milčane from the annals of history. This could have happened despite them having the potential to survive as an autonomous entity, just as Mecklenburg (which evolved from the polity of the Obodrites) or Pomerania two centuries later. Some of the arguments presented in this chapter would support such a supposition; they are, however, still too weak to turn this into a justified hypothesis.

3 On the fringe of the Empire: Milsko (Upper Lusatia) in the web of political and military interactions (ca. 987/990–1156)

The inclusion of Milsko into the March of Meissen changed its position diametrically: from an autonomous political subject it became a passive object of politics. Nevertheless, the question who actually would dominate the heritage of Dobromir was to become one of the most crucial issues that galvanized the Central and Eastern European politics for a number of decades. The struggle for the inheritance of Dobromir raged on, both on battlefields and in diplomatic negotiations. This competition was finally won by the King of Germany, Conrad II, in 1031. After that date, the former lands of the *Milčane* and *Besunzane* were to become only a minor province on the very fringe of a great realm, so distant and meaningless that they, indeed, became an ideal subject for an extreme case study on the technology and effectiveness of territorial governance on the very fringes of the sphere of influence of a medieval polity.

3.1 The bone of contention: between the Empire and the Piasts (ca. 1002–1031)

Although we do not know the exact date that Milsko was seized by Ekkehard I, we do know with certainty that his reign over Milsko did not last long – fifteen years at the most. The death of Otto III (January 23/24, 1002), the murder of Ekkehard I (April 30, 1002) and the coronation of Prince Henry of Bavaria as the new king (June 7, 1002) opened a veritable “Pandora’s box”, throwing off balance the entire system of alliances functioning until that time in Central and Eastern Europe. The first harbinger of the coming storm was the occupation of Budyšin in 1002 by Bolesław the Brave. The refusal of the Duke of Poland to pay homage to the king after having obtained the throne of Bohemia in 1003 began a fifteen-year string of wars between him and Henry II. In the course of three consecutive conflicts, Milsko became one of the most important segments of a vast war front that stretched from Western Pomerania to Lower Austria, and its ruler also changed three times: between 1002–1004 it was Bolesław, in 1004–1007 Henry II and afterwards the region again came under the control of the Polish prince (on the course of the wars, see i.a. Holtzmann 1941/55, 400–453; Lübke 1986, 191–317, nos. 351–465; Lübke 1987, 19–89, nos. 468–535; Labuda 2012, 84–95; Strzelczyk 2014, 88–122, with further ref.). Eventually, the treaty of Budyšin, concluded on January 30, 1018, led to official recognition of the incorporation of Milsko and (Lower) Lusatia into the Piast domain – most probably not as a benefice (cf. recently: Althoff 2005, 224–225; Wolfram 2006, 212; Mühle 2011, 27; Labuda 2012, 95; Strzelczyk 2014, 123) – while Meissen remained under the suzerainty of Henry II.



Figure 3.1: Bolesław I Chrobry, Duke and King of Poland, drawing by Jan Matejko (series *Poczet królów i książąt polskich*, 1890–1892). Public domain, copy obtained through Wikimedia Commons, URL <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=85837>.

After Bolesław the Brave, his son and heir to the Polish throne, Mieszko II, took power in Milsko – with no interference, as far as we know. He inherited from his father a conflict with the next King of Germany, Conrad II: this controversy was further inflamed by the royal coronations first of Bolesław and then of Mieszko (both in 1025). The conflict between Conrad II and Mieszko II quickly lead to armed confrontation. In response to Mieszko's campaign of pillage and destruction in 1028 (cf. Lübke 1987, 135–136, no. 580; on the date of the raid, see Labuda 1992, 67–71; on its possible background: Boshof 2008, 70–71), Conrad unsuccessfully attacked Budyšin in 1029 (see Lübke 1987, 143–144, no. 589; Labuda 1992, 74–75; Wolfram 2006, 217–218). It is conceivable that the conflict between the two kings would have lasted a long time, but some additional factors ultimately tipped the scales in this rivalry in favor of Conrad II – the changing of the internal political situation in Poland as well as the threat to Mieszko by the aggression of the Prince of Rus' Yaroslav the Wise in favor of his elder brother, Bezprym. In 1031, Mieszko relinquished power over Milsko and (Lower) Lusatia just to be able to conclude a separate peace with Conrad II and, due to this,

was able to turn against the Rus' and his domestic opponents (cf. Lübke 1987, 153–156, nos. 599–600; Labuda 1992, 78–82; Wolfram 2006, 219–220). Starting at that point, Milsko was incorporated for a long time into the political structure of the Holy Roman Empire, and Mieszko II's heirs, busy with rebuilding the structures of monarchy after the crisis into which the country had plunged in the 1030s, lost interest in the old heritage of Dobromir.

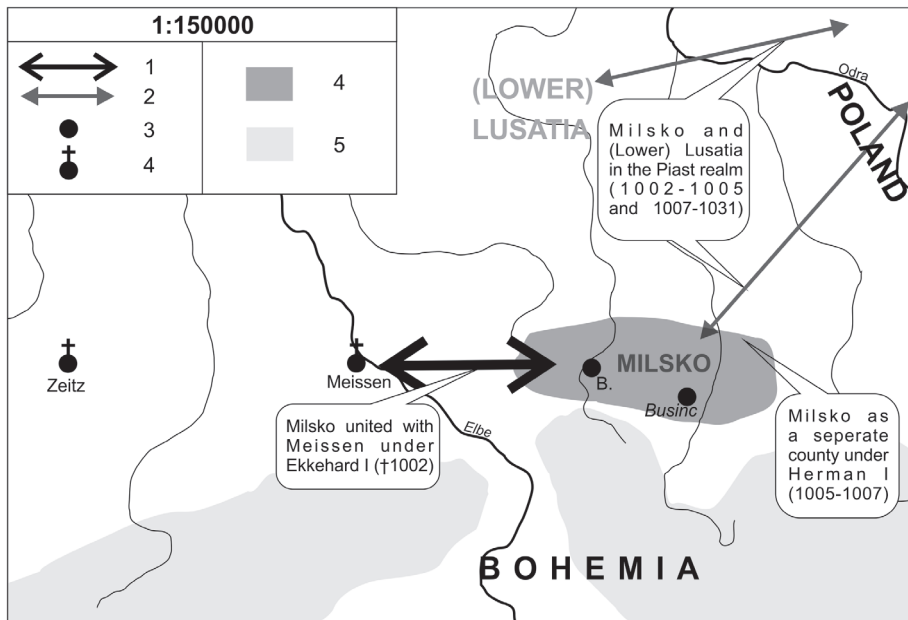


Figure 3.2: Political situation of Milsko at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Designed by K. Fokt, drawn by Janusz Szyszka. 1. Links of Milsko with Meissen. 2. Links of Milsko with Poland. 3. Seats of bishoprics. 4. Other important fortified settlements. 5. Milsko (land of the Milčane, later Upper Lusatia). 6. Mountainous areas.

In the shadow of the above-described gigantomachy, the members of the Ekkehardine dynasty were forced to manoeuvre between Scylla and Charybdis: loyalty towards their own monarch versus their dynastic pact with the Piasts (see Ludat 1971, 30, *passim*). Despite conflicts within the family – the dispute between Gunzelin and Herman, Ekkehard I's brother and son, even took the form of a regular war – and Henry II's limited trust in them (especially the faltering Gunzelin, cf. Holtzmann 1941/55, 393; Stieldorf 2012, 513), their policy of seeking a balance between the Piasts and the last of the Liudolfings bore fruit. Although the legitimate male relatives of Ekkehard I were never among Henry II's close associates, they remained contenders both for the office of Margrave of Meissen as well as for ruling Milsko on behalf of the Empire. A very clever move by Henry II was the creation in 1004 of a separate *comitatus* in Milsko

with the elder son of Ekkehard I, Herman, as its commander. Although he was the son-in-law of Bolesław the Brave, King Henry undoubtedly conferred him with greater trust than his paternal uncle Gunzelin (cf. Holtzmann 1941/55, 393), who publicly colluded with the Polish prince against the king.⁴² The heated rivalry between the sons and brother of Ekkehard I was no secret to Henry. Establishing Herman as the *comes* of Budyšin on behalf of the king thus allowed the right to transfer part of the inheritance from his father to him to be respected – and the Ekkehardines obtained power resulting from agreements with the local ruling elite, rather than it only being given by the king – and also checked the uncertain Margrave of Meissen. The period of Herman's *comitatus* in Budyšin, however, turned out only to be a brief interlude between the first (1002–1004) and second (1007–1025) times Bolesław the Brave ruled Milsko. The return of Milsko under the rule of the Ekkehardines came only much later, with the re-incorporation of that land to the Kingdom of Germany by Conrad II (see the details below, in Section 3.2.1).

Generally, all the events referred to above are well-known chiefly due to the brilliant and substantive eyewitness accounts in the chronicle authored by Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, and after his death in 1018, of German annals and the *Vita Chuonradi* of Wipo. It therefore seems pointless to describe them again in this book. Nevertheless, some attention should be devoted to the only episode of these wars known to have played out in Eastern Upper Lusatia, which has never been given the appreciation in the historiography that it deserves. This episode was the siege and conquest of the hillfort *Businc* located on Landeskron Mountain near Görlitz by the forces of Prince Udalric of Bohemia in 1015.

3.1.1 The fall of *urbs magna Businc* in 1015

Already before the Second World War, it had been aptly pointed out by Richard Jecht (1921; Jecht 1925) and right after the war supported by Jerzy Nalepa (1954) that the mysterious *urbs magna Businc*, sieged by Udalric of Bohemia in 1015, was most probably the same as the fortified settlement on Landeskron Mountain by Görlitz (cf. above, in the section 2.2.1). This stronghold was attacked probably not because of its strategic importance, but rather for the sake of its being filled with people, who were, according

⁴² Gunzelin owed both his nomination as margrave in 1002 (cf. Thietmar, V 18, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 241: *Bolizlaus autem Misnensem urbem tantummodo innumerabili pecunia acquirere satagebat et, quia oportunitas regni non erat, apud regem optinere non valebat, vix impetrans, ut hec fratri suo Guncelino daretur...*) as well as his being deprived of this function seven years later (Thietmar, VI 54, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 340: *Insuper quaestus est maiorem apud Bolizlavum fratrem gratiam hactenus habuisse, quam ei deceret aut sibi placere deberet*) to his intensive contacts with his brother-in-law.

to the account of Bishop Thietmar, all captured and deported by the Czechs.⁴³ Until recently, this event had not received proper appreciation from historians; it was only in 2004 that Joachim Henning, understanding the nature of the economic foundations of the Slavic polities at the time, treated this and other passages from Thietmar's chronicle about the mass deportation of people during the wars conducted between 1002–1018 with proper seriousness (Henning 2004, 170–171). Meanwhile, the number of prisoners taken from the Landeskrona ringfort according to Thietmar – a thousand men, excluding the number of women and children – even if exaggerated (cf. Richthofen 2004, 18; Schrage 2004b, 39; Strzelczyk 2014, 116), demonstrates that Udalric's expedition must have led to a significant depopulation of the entire region that until recently had been inhabited by the *Besunzane*. This phenomenon was not unique for the practices of war at the time;⁴⁴ after all, mass abductions of prisoners guaranteed inflow of capital through the sale of slaves to Muslim countries.

The significant depopulation of the Slavic lands in the eleventh century caused by the number of wars rolling through it in the tenth and early eleventh centuries is evident not only in the notes of chroniclers and annalists, but also in the archaeological materials. From the regions close to the lands discussed in this book, it is particularly noteworthy to mention the territory of the Bobrzanie, where there are several ringforts from the tenth century (cf. Jaworski 2009) and, in principle, none of the sites registered there may be safely attributed to the mid- or late eleventh century. A similar phenomenon of depopulation of a region occurring after it was roiled by battles in the tenth and eleventh century by young and expansionist monarchies was noted by Michał Parczewski (1982, 128–129) in the Głubczyce Highland. A convincing case that this was likely quite similar to the events on the Nysa is made by the current state of archaeological research in Eastern Upper Lusatia. Most of the early medieval sites, including almost all of the ringforts in this region, can be dated to the tenth or (at the latest) early eleventh centuries. Furthermore, the foundations for dating some of the sites from the eleventh and twelfth centuries are weak (cf. below and Appendix 7.2), and a large number of them are located outside areas populated in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as they were connected rather with the region's economic and demographic recovery in the twelfth century than with a straightforward continuation of the early eleventh century settlements (see Fig. 3.3).

⁴³ Thietmar VII 19, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 420–421: *Namque Othelricus quandam urbem magnam Businc dictam petiit et in ea non minus quam mille viros absque mulieribus et liberis capiens, incendit eandem et victor remeavit.*

⁴⁴ See the respective passages from the Chronicle of Thietmar, assembled by Henning (2004, 151, fn. 2–3), and from other sources describing raids of Bolesław I and Mieszko II, collected by Korta (1982, 99). Just one raid of Mieszko II brought, according to the *Annalista Saxo*, a booty of more than 9000 people. Of course, not men or children, but women were especially desired (cf. *Annales Hildesheimenses* s.a. 1028, MGH SS rer. Germ. 8, 35: *Misako [...] orientales partes Saxoniae cum valido suorum exercitu violenter invasit [...], viros quosque trucidavit, mulieres plurimas captivavit, parvulorum innumerabilem prorsus multitudinem miserabili inauditaque mortificatione cruentavit...*).

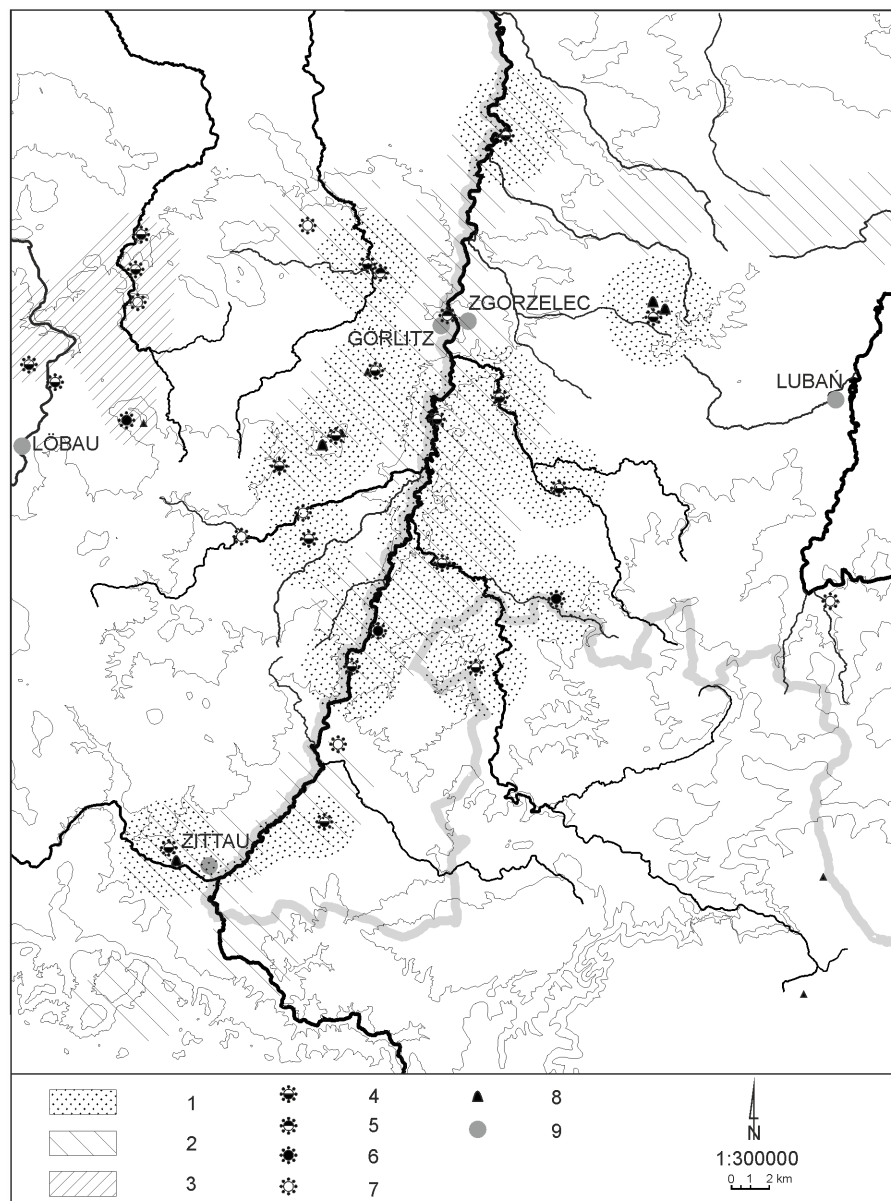


Figure 3.3: Early medieval settlement of Eastern Upper Lusatia. Designed by K. Fokt, drawn by Janusz Szyszka. 1. Settlement of the “middle Slavic” period (9th–10th cent.). 2. Settlement of the “late Slavic” period (10th/11th–12th cent.). 3. The eastern fringe of the settlement of the land of the Milčane, later the land of Bautzen. 4. Ringfort used most intensively or exclusively in the “middle Slavic” period (9th–10th cent.). 5. Ringforts of the “late Slavic” period (10th/11th–12th cent.). 6. Ringfort used in both “middle Slavic” and “late Slavic” periods. 7. Early medieval ringfort with unspecified detailed chronology. 8. Mound cemeteries. 9. Contemporary towns.

Presenting the above picture of the depopulation of Eastern Upper Lusatia after the campaign of 1015 is indeed out of line with the assumption of the continuity of settlement from the tenth to the twelfth century, which has been adopted *a priori* and “on faith” by some scholars (e.g. Huth 1971; Oettel 1995). It is, however, entirely consistent with the clear account from the chronicle of Bishop Thietmar and does not require major adjustments. The ascertainment that after the wars of 1002–1018, Eastern Upper Lusatia was to a large extent depopulated is not, at the same time, immaterial for the further arguments, presented especially in Chapter 5, devoted to the hub of local infrastructure of governance. It clearly shows that the displacement of a significant part of the population by the Czechs must have also been followed by at least partial destruction of those local structures, which, after all, would not have had a reason to exist without the people maintaining them. Part of the population and some of the ringforts certainly would have survived the war – either they were not captured by the invaders in 1015 or simply were suitable for reuse. Nevertheless, the local organization of governance that existed in Eastern Upper Lusatia after 1015 undoubtedly was provisional and was not a direct continuation of the structures functioning there before Udalric’s successful raid. This finding will appear substantial from the viewpoint of dealing with some further issues, especially for the problem of the existence of burgwards east of the Löbauer Wasser (cf. below, sub-chapter 5.3).

3.2 Under the rule of the margraves (1031–1081)

The return of Milsko to the rule of the German kings in 1031 determined the subsequent history of this region. However, hopelessly little is known about the time immediately following the recovery of Milsko by Conrad II because, among other reasons, this region, just like the neighboring Lower Lusatia ceased to be of particular interest to the chroniclers and annalists with the conclusion of the long-lasting war with the Piasts. With the exception of one diploma by King Henry IV from 1071, there are no written documentary sources for nearly half a century (1031–1081). There is also a lack of precisely dated archaeological finds from this period. This means that the history of Eastern Upper Lusatia in the years 1031–1081 must be based primarily on indirect evidence, which clearly reflects the position of this region in the structure of the Empire: a “far zone” of the realm, where the ruler was never present if he was not forced to be by some special circumstances (cf. Müller-Mertens, Huschner 1992, 174, 241, *passim*). Nevertheless, the available primary sources allow us to paint a picture of the history of Upper Lusatia different from the one prevailing in historiography. It appears that both the political fate of Milsko in the period described in this chapter as well as its status changed between 1031–1081 in a much more dynamic way than previously thought, and the relationship between this land and the neighboring marches was not limited to a

permanent “union” with Meissen as is commonly and unquestioningly accepted in the scholarly literature on the topic (cf. below, in the sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and in the sub-chapter 4.2).

In the initial part of the period discussed here, the dynamics of the events in Milsko were undoubtedly affected by the change in the Empire’s system of alliances resulting from the sudden collapse of the Piast monarchy and the entry of the Duchy of Bohemia under Břetislav I as the main enemy of the emperors in the East. By the end of the period described in this chapter, Milsko had become one of the objects for tactics and battles waged by Henry IV against the Saxon opposition. The impact of these situations and events is visible not only on the macroscale, i.e. at the level of the history of the region as a whole, but also on the microscale, as I shall attempt to illustrate with the concrete example of the organization of power and defense for Eastern Upper Lusatia (sub-chapter 5.6).

3.2.1 In the realm of the last Ekkehardines (1031–1046)

Mieszko II’s raids against Saxony and Conrad II’s counter-attacks, crowned by the re-conquest of Milsko and Lusatia in 1031, are the only events connected with the lands on the Spree and Nysa that attracted the attention of the German chroniclers from the time of the death of the learned Bishop Thietmar (1018). The true “dark ages” for Milsko came, however, just after 1031. For four decades (1031–1071), there were no direct mentions of Milsko in any written sources; a change in this respect was brought only by a single document issued by Henry IV in Goslar on December 11, 1071, certifying his donation of eight *mansi regales* in the *villa Goreliz* (Görlitz) to the Bishopric of Meissen.⁴⁵ A single document is not enough to write a half-century’s worth of history, during which events continued apace. In this unfavorable situation, it is no surprise that in the most recent outline of the history of Upper Lusatia to 1346 (Schrage 2004a), its author went directly from a description of the events of 1002–1031 to the events mentioned in the 1070s.

Most historians and legal historians of Upper Lusatia (cf. Knothe 1874, 276, 280; Knothe 1877, 167; most recently: von Salza 2013, 42–43) and of Saxony, as well (e.g. Posse 1881, 99–100, 104, *passim*), were not so cautious, collectively accepting that during this period Milsko was part of the March of Meissen and shared its fate, as if the marches of the Ottonic and early Salian periods were already stable units of territorial governance, the margraviates (which they were not, cf. Stieldorf 2012,

⁴⁵ All of the interpreters of the document in question are in agreement that it contains the first mention of the later town of Görlitz – with the exception of Reinhard Spehr (1994, 29, 36, 56, fn. 103), who identified *villa Goreliz* with the village of Gurigk (for critics of Spehr’s hypothesis, see Kobuch 1996, 357, fn. 397).

183, *passim*). This opinion does not, however, hold true. It is based on one source-anchored and one indirect premise. The former is of course the document of Henry IV of 1071 already mentioned here (DH IV, no. 246), in which the *villa Goreliz* was placed *in comitatu Eggeberti marchionis* – so in the areas under the rule of Egbert II, the Margrave of Meissen. The indirect premise is the presupposition that Milsko was an integral part of the March of Meissen throughout the whole period 1031–1081. This assumption has enabled scholars of the history of Upper Lusatia to “borrow” the entire list of the Margraves of Meissen from the analyzed period to make them rule over Milsko as well (cf. Knothe 1877, 167; Jecht 1930a, 172–173). This easy procedure, relying on the simple projection of the situation obvious for nineteenth and twentieth century authors, i.e. of the greater part of Upper Lusatia belonging to Saxony, provided the historiographical canvas upon which one could sketch the political history (despite the evident lack of sources) and even demonstrate in a nuanced manner the individual personalities of the country’s rulers (cf. in particular Jecht 1930a, 172–179). The “dark ages” in the history of Milsko were in this way filled with events from the history of the March of Meissen. There remains, however, a question: is that appropriate?

The uncritical acceptance, perhaps significantly influenced by the later political borders and realities, of the axiom that Milsko was already united with the March of Meissen in 1031 (whose current legal successor is indeed the *Freistaat Sachsen* in Germany) blinded scholars to other possibilities for interpreting the chronicles and documentary sources, on the basis of which one can reconstruct the socio-spatial reach of particular *comitatus* operating in the eastern flank of the Holy Roman Empire on behalf of the first two kings of the Salian Dynasty (Conrad II and Henry III). Particularly noteworthy in this context are two moments where the assignment and borders of the *comitatus* not only could have, but must have changed: 1031, when Conrad II recovered Milsko and Lusatia from Mieszko II, and 1046, when the death of Ekkehard II set the problem of dividing his legacy before the king and his advisers.

It is customary to assume that Herman I, the eldest of Ekkehard I’s sons, took power in Budyšin in 1031 because he had already ruled there earlier in 1004–1007. According to the unanimous opinion of scholars past and present, this was how the long-lasting union of Milsko with Meissen, which remained intact for the next half-century, came about (cf. Knothe 1874, 280; Knothe 1877, 167; Kapras 1913, 90; Blaschke 1990, 68). It is worth noting, however, the fact that Herman’s younger brother, Ekkehard II, in a document issued by Emperor Conrad II in Quedlinburg on December 17, 1032 (DK II, no. 184) appeared as an intervenor with the title of *marchio*. Since his brother Herman was then the Margrave of Meissen, this raises the question of if, in 1031, the Ekkehardines did not repeat the scenario from 1004–1007 where the eldest family member was the Margrave in Meissen and the younger in Budyšin.



Figure 3.4: Sculptures of Ekkehard II and his wife Uta in the Cathedral in Naumburg. Source: Wikimedia Commons, photo by user Linsengericht (own work), license CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=5520294>, here reproduced under the same license.

In light of the facts presented in the previous chapter linking Ekkehard II's title of Margrave with Milsko, which in 1004–1007 was a *comitatus* on its own, seems the most logical possible solution. Despite that, a different view has been formed and dominates in the historiography. Namely, it is believed that the title of margrave given in 1032 to Ekkehard II must have applied to the so called Saxon Eastern March, which indeed was ruled by the youngest son of Ekkehard I in a later period (cf. Lüpke 1937, 85, fn. 354; Schlesinger 1953, 25, fn. 1; Lübke 1987, 160, 163–164, nos. 605a, 608; Rentschler 2012, 627, with further ref.). However, a reference in a reliable chronicle source, which the *Annales Hildesheimenses* undoubtedly are, from 1034 argues that

this was not the case. In the record, displaying the miserable assassination of Count Theoderic II by some *milites* of his brother-in-law, Ekkehard II, it was not the latter who appeared as *comes orientaliū*, but Theoderic.⁴⁶ Thus it is probable that he, not the younger son of Ekkehard I, was the Margrave of the Eastern March at that time (cf. Moderhack 1936, 25; Lehmann 1963, 24; Brankač, Mětsk 1977, 93; Stieldorf 2012, 286).⁴⁷ On the other hand, not Theoderic II but Ekkehard II was called *marchio* in the same account and that is probably why so many scholars have been trying to replace the former with the latter (cf. the explicit statements of Lüpke 1937, 49 and Rupp 1996, 143–144). Is this, however, really necessary?

In fact, the title of *marchio* given to Ekkehard II in two sources (i.e. DK II, no. 184 and *Annales Hildesheimenses*, see above in the previous paragraphs), while Theoderic II was titled *comes*, is the main argument supporting the thesis that in the years 1032–1034 it was not Theoderic II but Ekkehard II who held the post of the Margrave of the Saxon Eastern March. This argument is, however, weak and ambiguous. In the first half of the eleventh century, the notions of *marchio* and *comes* were still used as synonyms (cf. Schlesinger 1941, 243–244; Stieldorf 2012, 181–182, 344, and the instructive summary by Rentschler 2012, 67–69). There is, therefore, nothing unexpected in Theoderic II being called *comes*, even if he were the margrave of the Saxon Eastern March, as there would be nothing special in Ekkehard II being called *marchio* as a count in Milsko. Another argument that could support the hypothesis of Ekkehard II ruling not in Milsko, but in the Saxon Eastern March in 1031–1034 could be the supposition that it was the conflict between him and Theoderic II about the possession of that area and inheritance in the March of Meissen that caused the assassination of Theoderic by Ekkehard's men (cf. Rupp 1996, 145; Pätzold 1997, 15, fn. 55; Rogge 2005, 18). This argument is, however, misleading. Killing Theoderic II would surely be the worst way for Ekkehard II to strengthen his position and simultaneously the best way to fall into the King's disgrace, which, as we know, did not happen. It seems, therefore, that Ekkehard II was not seen as the originator of the plan to assassinate Theoderic II (cf. here also clear-headed arguments of Lübke 1987, 176–177, no. 620 and Trillmich 1991, 298); whether he really was or was not the principal of that crime, remains unknown. In any case, the above cited interpretation of the tragic death of Theoderic II in his own bedroom cannot be used as a premise in any reasoning about the question whether Ekkehard II ruled in the so called Saxon Eastern March or not.

⁴⁶ MGH SS rer. Germ. 8, 39: *Eodem anno Thiedricus comes orientaliū a militibus Aeggihardi marchionis in proprio cubiculo ficta salutatione circumventus, in dolo 13. Kal. Decembris occiditur*. This passage in the *Annales Hildesheimenses* is, by the way, the second source after the 1032 document mentioned above in which Ekkehard II appears with the title of *marchio* (cf. Schlesinger 1953, 25, fn. 1).

⁴⁷ See also Bresslau 1884, 82, 482, however, with false premise of identity of Theoderic II with *patruelis* of Mieszko II known from the *Annales Hildesheimenses*.

Although the titulature for the rulers of the Eastern March had not been stabilized at the time (cf. Stieldorf 2012, 179, 306–307), this does not by any means allow us to treat the appellation of *comes orientaliū* used by the chronicler vis-à-vis Theoderic II *per non est*. One must recall that Margrave Gero, heading the undivided Saxon Eastern March few decades earlier (from which the “shrunk” march of Hodo I and his successors originated), was already called *Orientalium marchio* in the chronicle of bishop Thietmar (II 14, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 54). Moreover, in a later period (after 1046), Theoderic’s II’s son, Dedi II, also became Margrave of the Saxon Eastern March, which may suggest that he had some inherited claims to that post. These facts, however, do not disturb those who have embraced the hypothesis that Ekkehard II, not Theoderic II, already possessed the Eastern March in 1032. They prefer to presume that the appellation *comes orientaliū* simply means “a count in the Osterland” (Lüpke 1937, 49; Rupp 1996, 143–144), “a count somewhere on the eastern frontier” (Lübke 1987, 175–176, no. 620; Rentschler 2012, 902) or “lord of many eastern counties” (Pätzold 1997, 240) rather than applying the indispensable tool of Occam’s Razor to the situation and, of the two hypothetical margraves of the Saxon Eastern March, the one mentioned in the sources as the *orientaliū comes* and the other only as *marchio* without specification, eliminate the latter as having been created unnecessarily.

In fact, it seems more likely that in 1031–1034 Ekkehard II held the title *marchio* as the count in Milsko, to which he certainly had more right, due to the earlier rule there of his father and brother, which was based not only upon nomination from the emperor, but also on the strength of an understanding with the local elites rather than administering the Saxon Eastern March. It thus appears in all likelihood that after the re-conquest of Milsko by Conrad II, this land was not, as commonly believed, incorporated into the March of Meissen but received its own count in Ekkehard II, who was twice in the sources given the appellation of *marchio* yet before entering the inheritance of his brother in Meissen. Therefore, in 1031 the situation from the years 1005–1007 would have been restored, with the whole southern belt of regions – from the former March of Zeitz in the west to the *pagus* and *comitatus* of Milsko in the east being ruled by two Ekkehardines. It would be then only in 1034, after the assassination of Theoderic II, that Ekkehard II merged Milsko with the Eastern March and then, after the death of his brother Herman I in 1038, united both of these *comitatus* with the March of Meissen.

3.2.2 Under the high-born rebels (1046–1081)

The death of Ekkehard II in January 1046 set before King Henry III and his circle of advisors and associates the problem of assigning the territories left by the deceased, the last male scion of the Ekkehardine dynasty. No source confirms *explicite* into whose hands the rule of Milsko came in or shortly after 1046. The majority of the historians of Upper Lusatia do not shy from assuming that power in Milsko was

henceforth exercised by the subsequent Margraves of Meissen. In this way, an entire dynasty that most likely never held dominion over Milsko was introduced into the country's history: the Weimar Dynasty in the persons of Wilhelm IV (1046–1062) and Otto IV (1062–1067), as well as Egbert I (1067–1068), the father of the previously-mentioned *comes* Egbert II from the Brunonian dynasty, who indeed ruled Milsko in 1071. It should be noted, however, that the only certificate of Egbert II as the count of Milsko in 1071 that exists does not at all mean that that this function was also exercised by his three closest predecessors in Meissen. Furthermore, there has been an alternative interpretation in the historiography for nearly a century about the division of the heritage of Ekkehard II, in light of which Milsko must not be treated as an integral part of the March of Meissen.

I speak here of the interpretation presented by Rudolf Kötzschke (1929/1961, 111, fn. 35) and Walter Schlesinger (1953, 8; see also Rentschler 2012, 294, fn. 1499), accepted by Herbert Helbig (1956, 60), who – in the margins of their studies of other issues – reinterpreted the respective fragment of the *Annales Altahenses Maiores* regarding the events of 1046. In light of these notes, after Ekkehard's death, Emperor Henry III conferred two of his marches, which were not named, to *comes* Dedi II of the House of Wettin, while the third, Meissen, for a time was brought under his direct rule.⁴⁸ Among the two unnamed marches, one must have been the Saxon Eastern March (cf. Rentschler 2012, 493–495). The debatable question is, however, which territory was considered by the chronicler to be the second of the marches given to the rule of Dedi II. Kötzschke and Schlesinger suggest that this nameless territory was Milsko, known in the previous period as *Marchia Milzania* – which seems quite likely in light of the comments on the land's status presented above. However, this is not the only possible interpretation of the passage in the Niederaltaich annals.

In older scholarship, one could come across the statement, still obvious for Otto Posse (1881, 233–234; see also CDS 1–1, 73–74), that one or even two of the marches mentioned in the context of the division of the legacy of Ekkehard II in 1046 could be those of Merseburg or Zeitz (cf. Rupp 1996, 151). The arguments against this idea were already known to Posse, so that he knew well that the sources had no traces of Dedi's administrative activities in these territories, as it is known that there are factors demonstrating that the area of the historic marches of Merseburg and Zeitz was in the mid-eleventh century not seen as a separate whole from Meissen.

Currently, a viable alternative for identifying the nameless March mentioned in the *Annales Altahenses* as Milsko is the idea that one of the territories granted to Dedi II was the Eastern March and the second was Lower Lusatia, which was supposedly treated as a territory separate from this March from the time it was recovered by Conrad II in 1031. This idea was first proposed by Siegfried Lüpke (1937, 49–50), who pointed

⁴⁸ MGH SS rer. Germ. 4, 41–42: *Illic etiam Teti, Dietrici comitis filius, marchas Ekkahardi duas a rege promeruit, terciam, id est Misihnensem, rex adhuc retinuit.*

out that Lower Lusatia had been already earlier, between 965–979, a *comitatus* on its own, ruled by a different count than the western part of the Saxon Eastern March, including the Osterland (Lüpke 1937, 49–50). An additional supporting argument was posed by Lüpke (1937, 50) and repeated by Christian Lübke (1987, 238, no. 682), recalling Lusatia's separation from the rest of the Saxon Eastern March under Piast rule (1002–1031). The problem with that is that Milsko could claim a very similar tradition of autonomy as Lower Lusatia; it also – not during the reigns of Otto I and II, but during that of Henry II (1004–1007) – was a territory administered by a separate *comes* and, like Lower Lusatia, in 1007–1031, remained under the rule of the Piasts. Moreover, as has been already pointed out above (section 3.2.1), the separate rule of Milsko and the March of Meissen under two counts from the Ekkehardine family was probably also restored in the years 1031–1034.

The existence for a certain time of individual Eastern and Lusatian marches could, according to Lüpke (1937, 50), speak to the margraves' titulature, appearing as *marchio orientalis et Lusatiae* (1293) or *margrav in Lausitz und im Osterlande* (1304). This argument, however, is weak for two reasons. Firstly, in the sources – both older (*Genealogia Wettinensis*, accompanying the *Chronicon Montis Sereni* from the 13th century)⁴⁹ and younger (*De origine Marchionum Misnensium et Thuringiae Lantgraviorum*, inappropriately called *Annales Vetero-Cellenses*, from the early 15th century) – a different relation of both titles (Lusatia and Osterland) than in the charters quoted by Lüpke was registered, namely their synonymy.⁵⁰ Generally, from the very moment when the available source data allow us to discern it properly (i.e., from the twelfth century onward), the variety of terms used for naming the so-called Saxon Eastern March and its margraves was wide (cf. Stieldorf 2012, 179, 306–307; Lindner 2013, 151). Secondly, as was aptly pointed out by Daniel Rentschler (2012, 493, fn. 1490), the separation of Lower Lusatia and the rest of the Saxon Eastern March in the titulatures of the margraves does not necessarily imply that they were governed as separate *comitatus* after 1031, as this could have originated only because of the separation of those territories in the period of Piast rule over Lower Lusatia.

There are, therefore, no convincing premises that would support the hypothesis of Lower Lusatia being the second, after the Saxon Eastern March, of the Marches granted to Dedi II by Henry III in 1046. In light of the probable restoration of the separate county in Milsko in the years 1031–1034 (see above, 3.2.1) and the naming of Milsko as *Marchia Milzania* by Adalbold of Utrecht (see below, 4.1) the thesis by Kötzschke and Schlesinger that one of the marches also given to Dedi II in 1046 was Milsko seems more plausible. This would correspond well with the geopolitical

⁴⁹ On the origin, background and dating of these sources, see Pätzold 1997, 349–362.

⁵⁰ MGH SS 23, 228: *marchiam [...] Lusicensem, que Orientalis nunc dicitur*; Opel ed. 1874, 180: *marchio Orientalis, scilicet Lusaciae*.

context of the 1040s, when a significant reversal of alliances took place. Poland ceased to be “Enemy Number One” on the eastern borders of the Empire (cf. Stieldorf 2012, 467); its ruler, Kazimierz I the Restorer (Odnowiciel), was in 1046, with the support of Henry III, still fighting to rebuild the political organization of his monarchy after the dramatic crisis of the 1030s. The Emperor, on the other hand, likely did lose sleep over the unquestioned might of Břetislav I, Duke of Bohemia, who in 1040 even defeated the imperial army in what is known as the First Battle of Chlumec, and who in 1046 still occupied a significant part of the lands on the Odra that until 1038 had been subject to the Piasts. In this system, giving Milsko and Lusatia to the same margrave seems extremely logical, since such a step would ensure the effective use of both lands’ potential, including also that of the western part of the Saxon Eastern March and other counties of Dedi II, in any possible conflict with Břetislav.

Unfortunately, Köttschke and Schlesinger did not develop their idea in that they did not try to answer the question of whether there exists any kind of, even circumstantial, evidence indicating that Dedi II actually held power in Milsko after 1046. To compensate for this deficiency, one has to resort to the only source that refers explicitly to Milsko during this time: the charter of Henry IV of 11 December 1071 (MGH DH IV, no. 246). This document states that at the time it was issued, the administrator of Milsko for the king was Egbert II, but the circumstances of the donation attested in it allow us to surmise that his predecessor was none other than Dedi II himself. The object of these donations were the estates held previously as a benefice by a certain Ozer in Görlitz, *in pago Milsca*. They were taken away from the previous possessor by court decree, which also included the death penalty. The king spared the condemned from the main penalty, but did not intend to reverse the confiscation of the fief. On the contrary, part of Ozer’s benefice was given by Henry IV to the Bishop of Meissen and this donation was certified in the document cited above, issued in the palace in Goslar at the end of 1071.

In previous studies, it was rightly pointed out that the sentence levied on Ozer was most likely the result of his being proven guilty of treason; it was also aptly suggested that the faithless actions of Ozer could have had something to do with the first and tentative attempts at rebellious actions in Saxony, which preceded the general uprising which began in 1073 (cf. Schrage 2004a, 59). Not limiting ourselves to this general conclusion, one could even point to specific events that indeed, as claimed by contemporary chroniclers and annalists, were a “prelude” to the later civil war, namely the revolt of Margrave Dedi II of 1069. According to *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, the military actions taken up against the king by Dedi were the result of a conspiracy of a broad group of Saxon elites (cf. MGH SS rer. Germ. 4, 77). It is dubious if this was really the case (cf. Meyer von Knonau 1890, 618, fn. 24); in fact, eventually only Adalbert of Ballenstädt joined Dedi after his first failure. In both a military and legal sense, Dedi’s revolt was thus not an element of any general Saxon revolt, but rather a private war, a feud (*Fehde*) between the margrave and the

king from start to finish (cf. Posse 1881, 235–236; Meyer von Knonau 1890, 618–619). In this case, there would be no reason for royal vassals holding estates belonging directly to the monarchy and located outside the area administered by the powerful and wealthy ruler of the Saxon Eastern March to join him in his rebellious activities. At the same time, however, the margrave could not afford for the remaining royal knights on the territory subordinate to him to not recognize his commands in a situation of ongoing martial activities. In this context, it would be reasonable to assume that this is probably why Ozer joined Dedi's revolt – he simply chose one of two bad options that were available for a royal vassal holding a fief in a rebel's province.

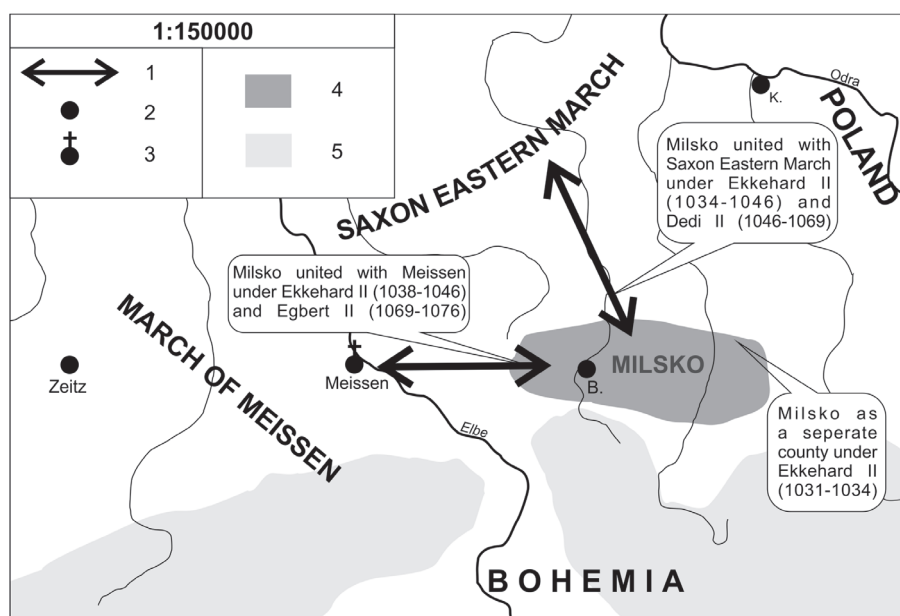


Figure 3.5: Political situation of Milsko after its recovery by Conrad II. 1. Links of Milsko with other areas. 2. Seats of bishoprics. 3. Other important fortified settlements. 4. Milsko (land of the Milčane, later Upper Lusatia). 5. Mountainous areas. B: Bautzen. K: Krosno Odrzańskie.

The reasoning above is, of course, a circumstantial conclusion – the small number of available sources simply does not allow for any other. However, it fits perfectly into the historical context of the course and consequences of Dedi's revolt. The armed conflict between the margrave and the king took place in Thuringia, where Dedi manned the castles of Burgscheidungen and Beichlingen with his garrisons. After Henry gathered the nobles and knights of Thuringia and retook both castles, the rebel, seeing his hopeless position, submitted himself to the monarch's mercy. It was granted, but only

after a period of imprisonment as well as the king removing a number of holdings and incomes from the unfortunate margrave (cf. Robinson 1999, 64–65).⁵¹ Milsko was certainly among these where, as demonstrated by the fate of Ozer and his benefice, the victorious ruler quickly introduced his own order.

Like other eastern regions under his rule, Henry did not intend to rule Milsko directly, but rather entrusted it to the authority of the current Margrave of Meissen, Egbert II. It was a convenient move for Henry, as Egbert was not only a relative of his (through his father) and of Queen Bertha (through her mother) as well as the son of the meritorious Egbert I (cf. Jecht 1930a, 172–173); in 1069 he was also no older than ten. He thus was not only not a potentially dangerous opponent, but completely dependent on the help and support of the king, which was given willingly by establishing, among others, a royal burgrave in Meissen (cf. Schlesinger 1953, 61–62; Helbig 1955, 207; Thieme 2001, 153–154). The 1071 document shows at the same time that the king attempted to provide for the young boy and his mother Irmingarde, invoking the intercession of Queen Bertha (Irmgarde was her aunt) as well as in providing a gift of eight royal *mansi* for the Bishop of Meissen with the obligation to pray for the soul of Egbert I as well as of Egbert II in the event of his death. As demonstrated by the events of 1073, when Egbert II willingly joined the Saxon uprising against the king, Henry's policy vis-à-vis the young Margrave of Meissen came to nothing, but he could not have envisioned this either in 1068, when transferring to Egbert II the function of margrave of the castle on the Elbe, or in 1069, when, as I have attempted to demonstrate, it was Egbert II who became the beneficiary of Dedi II's defeat and obtained rule of Milsko on behalf of the king.

If one takes the picture of the political history of Milsko between 1046–1071 presented above as the basis for further conclusions, it turns out that the Brunonians' rule in this country – only in the person of Egbert II – lasted a very short time. Undoubtedly, the young Margrave of Meissen ruled Milsko from 1069, when the country was likely surrendered by Dedi II (as I have attempted to show above), until 1076, when Henry IV took away the function of Margrave of Meissen from Egbert as a result of his activities against the king, and conferred the area to Duke Vratislav of Bohemia. This was not the first margrave function for the ruler of Prague, who already the year before received the Saxon Eastern March from the king in violation of the rights of the then underage Henry, the son of Dedi II. It is rather doubtful that Vratislav managed to actually come into possession of the Saxon Eastern March, which did not even adjoin his hereditary lands in 1075. The rule of the Přemyslid in Meissen turned out to be short-lived, as already in 1076 the young Count Egbert headed the Saxon army that recovered all of the fortresses that Vratislav had manned with his garrisons (see Novotný 1913, 199; Robinson 1999, 153, with further ref.).

51 Cf. *Lamberti Hersfeldensis annales* s.a. 1069, MGH SS 5, 175: *Dedi marchio aliquamdiu habitus in custodia, tandem, adempta possessionum et reddituum non modica parte, dimissus est.*

The formal ratification of this state of affairs must have taken place between 1079–1082, when Egbert again came into favor with Henry IV; at the latest, in early 1081 (cf. Novotný 1913, 228–229, fn. 1, 274, fn. 2; Jecht 1930a, 175–176). It seems here that the price imposed upon Egbert for actually legalizing his holding the function of margrave must have been giving up part of these territories, specifically the lands of Nižane and Milsko, to the pretender to the Margraviate of Meissen on behalf of the king: Vratislav (cf. Knothe 1877, 167–168). The unambiguous rule of Vratislav over both of these regions (Milsko and the land of Nižane) as early as 1084, when they were transferred to Wiprecht of Groitzsch as part of the dowry of Vratislav's daughter Judith, makes a persuasive case that these events actually occurred. It seems unlikely that Vratislav would have endowed his daughter with territories to which he did not have a legal title, as would have been the case after Egbert II was restored as Margrave of Meissen. It must be remembered that, according to the story in the *Annales Pegavienses*, Vratislav originally planned to endow his daughter with part of some Czech province, an area he actually held by hereditary law, and it was in fact his potential son-in-law Wiprecht of Groitzsch who persuaded him to change his plans and give him holdings north of the Ore Mountains and Sudetes.⁵² It thus does not seem possible that Wiprecht, instead of territories that his father-in-law actually and legally possessed, accepted as part of his wife's dowry some territories to which Vratislav, in the face of Egbert's return to the March of Meissen, had neither the right to nor possessed at all (cf. here Novotný 1913, 275, fn. 2). The separation of the land of Nižane and Milsko from the March of Meissen thus must have already taken place between 1079–1081 on the basis of an understanding by all of the interested parties: King Henry, Duke Vratislav and Count Egbert.

This hypothesis fits perfectly into the political context of these years, when Henry, who was planning an expedition to Italy, must have taken care to pacify potential conflicts north of the Alps. The return of the Saxon Eastern March and the March of Meissen, which had been given to Vratislav in 1075–1076, to the young Saxon aristocrats Egbert II and Henry I of Eilenburg must have been a major element of the king's political plans. The compensation to Vratislav for both of these marches should be, according to several authors (Giesebrecht 1876, 526; Posse 1881, 243; Jecht 1930a, 176; Widajewicz 1948, 44; Prinz 1984, 99; see also the opinion of Otto Posse in CDS 1–1, 101), the Bavarian Eastern March (i.e., Austria) taken away from Margrave Leopold II. In actual fact, however, the gifting of the Eastern March was not any kind of reward for Vratislav, but rather a burden, requiring great military strain, as demonstrated by the events of 1082 (with Vratislav's victory at the Battle of Mailberg in Lower Austria on 12 May 1082). It is difficult to treat a task of this type as compensation for the two marches previously legally given to Vratislav (cf. here acute comments of Novotný

⁵² MGH SS 16, 241: *Provinciae vero illius partem quam rex in dotem filiae suae delegaverat, accipere recusavit, sed extra hanc pagos duos, Nisen scilicet et Budesin, pro hac exidens impetravit.*

1913, 229–230), regardless of the fact that he likely did not possess them in 1081. It is completely unthinkable that the Duke of Bohemia, a consummate politician as well as Henry IV's main ally, worthy of the highest honors from the king, in exchange for his previous achievements would be dismissed with only an expectative mirage for the March of Leopold II. Only accepting that besides this minimal gift, he also received some kind of actual compensation for the lost marches, in the form of Milsko and the land of Nižane, would allow us to accept that Henry IV offered the Duke of Bohemia adequate remuneration for his services (cf. the similar view of Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 76–77).

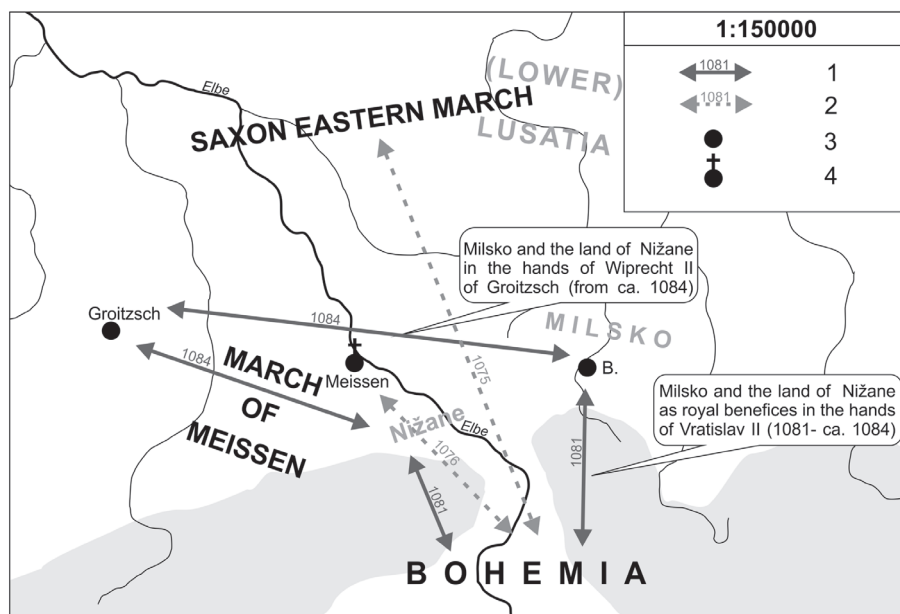


Figure 3.6: Political situation of Milsko at the beginning of the rule of *homines novi*. 1. Attempts to establish Vratislav II as a margrave. 2. Links of Milsko with other areas and their rulers. 3. Seats of bishoprics. 4. Other important fortified settlements.

What seems to speak against the idea of the separation of Milsko and land of Nižane from the March of Meissen in 1081 presented above are two royal documents from 1086 and 1089, in which Henry IV declared that with Egbert's return to the royal graces, he was to be given back everything that he had previously received under the laws of inheritance (CDS 1–1, nos. 154, 161). It can thus be surmised that Egbert received the March of Meissen at this time in the same form as it was divested in 1076, but this conclusion is not the only interpretation that can be drawn from the fragments of the narrations of these diplomas. First and foremost, it should be kept

in mind that these documents attested to the Emperor's giving of the Frisian counties (Westergau and Ostergau) seized from Egbert to the Bishop of Utrecht. From this territorial perspective, the shape of the March of Meissen at the time it was taken from and restored to Egbert II was completely irrelevant; it was only important to show how treacherously the young margrave had behaved, as he had been restored to the royal graces and offices several times only to rebel against the merciful monarch again. Between the wording of these diplomas and the reconstruction of the actual state here – i.e. the takeover of Milsko and the land of Nižane by Vratislav in 1081 – there is no clear contradiction, since the terms *sua* and *omnia sua* do not necessarily have to include all of Egbert's holdings, but rather simply all of his *comitatus* (including the March of Meissen). Changing the territorial shape of one of them (separating two lands from the March of Meissen) was from the perspective of the person who drew up the charters for Henry IV particularly insignificant – and even potentially damaging to his image of a merciful ruler – and thus unworthy for consideration in their narrations.

3.3 Under the *homines novi* (1081–1126)

In connection with the transfer by Henry IV first of the entire march of Egbert II and then only its borderlands (Milsko and the land of Nižane) to the Duke of Bohemia, Vratislav II, an important change to the status of Upper Lusatia occurred, which can be considered to be a demotion. From 1076 on, this region was to be long separated from the eastern marches, becoming a sort of *praedium* that successive kings awarded to their faithful allies and knights. While the first of these was not just anyone, as he was Duke Vratislav II of Bohemia, but neither the next ruler of Milsko, Wiprecht II of Groitzsch, who bore the title of count only from 1106 and not due to royal nomination (cf. Schlesinger 1953, 23), nor his competitor and short-ruling successor (1112–1115) Hoyer of Mansfeld, were official representatives of royal power; they were rather good servants of the kings rewarded with a generous benefice.

Outlining the narrative history of Milsko between 1081–1126 is a far less ambitious task than the similar attempt carried out in sub-chapter 3.2. for the preceding half-century of 1031–1081. The reason for this is the entry of Milsko into the orbit of interests of the Přemyslids (1076) and the lords of Groitzsch (1084) and, hence, also for the authors of the historiographical works written for the glorification of these families, the *Chronica Boemorum* of Cosmas of Prague and the *Annales Pegavienses*. Nevertheless, there is no lack of ambiguity in these materials, the explanations for which will be the subject of this sub-chapter. No less thorny is the question of whether after 1081 Eastern Upper Lusatia shared the fate of Milsko as a whole or, as Richard Jecht (1930a) would like, if it was governed separately from the rest of Milsko throughout this period; this problem shall be discussed below, in section 3.3.3.

3.3.1 Upper Lusatia in the hands of loyal supporters of Henry IV

The fate of Milsko and the land of Nižane (today Upper Lusatia and the Dresden area), transferred in 1081 by Henry IV to Duke Vratislav of Bohemia, illustrates how little the third monarch of the Salian dynasty trusted the representatives of the Saxon-Thuringian elite, whose ancestors had first embraced their margravian posts even in the period of the Saxon (Liudolfing) kings. It was already in 1076 that the ruler decided to replace the overconfident, haughty and rebellious members of the old aristocracy with his ally, Vratislav II of Bohemia. This plan failed with respect to Meissen, but the reliable *homo novus* finally in 1081 received the two lands (the territory of the Nižane and Milsko), separated from the remaining holdings of Egbert II.

Vratislav's direct rule in Milsko lasted only three years. Already in 1084, he passed this land as a dowry for his daughter Judith to her husband, Wiprecht II of Groitzsch. In this way, Upper Lusatia along with the land of Nižane became parts of the heterogeneous dominion of the lord of Groitzsch, which also included various holdings gained by this energetic "self-made man", chiefly between the Mulde and Saale. In the structure of Wiprecht's dominion, the two regions (*pagi*) he gained from Vratislav occupied a particular position in the topographical sense, as they were somewhat distant from his main holdings. Nevertheless, as can be seen, Wiprecht probably did not underestimate the importance of these territories, as he first came up with a dowry for Judith, and after that, despite ordering the construction of Schwarzau Castle especially for her,⁵³ he allowed his wife to reside in Budyšin, where she died in 1108 (MGH SS 16, 248; cf. Jecht 1930a, 182).

The rule of Wiprecht in Milsko lasted peacefully under the reign of Henry IV and in the beginning of the reign of Henry V; it was interrupted only by the events of 1110–1112. At that time, a crisis occurred in the relations between Wiprecht and Henry V, the background of which was the intervention of the count of Groitzsch in Bohemia in order to place Wiprecht's brother-in-law Bořivoj II on the throne. Falling victim to these games was the count's son, Wiprecht III, who was imprisoned by King Henry in January 1110 (cf. Novotný 1913, 482–483; Jecht 1930a, 185; Žemlička 1997, 134; Vaníček 2007, 108–109). At the end of 1111 or in 1112 (cf. Jecht 1930a, 185–186, fn. 72), Wiprecht II finally managed to secure his son's release, but at the cost of transferring to Henry possession of the castles of Leisnig and Morungen as well as Milsko and the land of Nižane (*Annales Pegavienses* s.a. 1112, MGH SS 16, 251). Depriving the lord of Groitzsch of these lands did not bring any lasting political effects: just a few years later both of the territories of interest were returned to Wiprecht. There are, however, grounds to

⁵³ MGH SS 16, 241: *Quibus susceptis [i.e., after taking possession of the dowry of Judith – KF] urbem Scworz nomine construxit, quae coniugi suae tutum foret praesidium*. The formulation of the annalist's entry leaves no doubt that the construction of Schwarzau Castle should be treated as a response for the lands accepted, i.e. a dower.

believe that the confiscation of Milsko and the land of Nižane from Wiprecht in 1112 had some far-reaching, “systemic” effects.



Figure 3.7: Tombstone of Wiprecht II of Groitzsch in the Church of St. Lawrence in Pegau. Source: Wikimedia Commons, photo by user KaterBegemot (own work), license CC BY 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=9751592>.

3.3.2 Rearrangements under Henry V

In 1112, both the land of Nižane and Milsko, like the other former holdings of Wiprecht II, were transferred by Henry V as a benefice to his favorite and field commander of the royal armies, Hoyer of Mansfeld (*Annales Pegavienses* s.a. 1112: MGH SS 16, 251). From the mention in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague (III, 39) about the imperial burgrave in the stronghold of Dohna in the context of the events of 1113,⁵⁴ it is clear that the emperor attempted on this occasion to strengthen his position at least in the land of Nižane, setting up in Dohna the office of a burgrave, an administrator appointed by the king and responsible to him, independent of the current possessor of the lands (cf. Bönhoff 1915, 204; Kobuch 1996, 332; cf. Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 84).

The death of Hoyer at the Battle of Welfesholz (February 11, 1115) left Milsko, from the perspective of the emperor's camp, without a legal possessor. The Saxon opposition, in which Wiprecht II's son, Wiprecht III, played an important role, must have had a completely different perspective on this situation. The general military and political context of the period directly following the defeat of the imperial army in 1115 leaves no doubt that the victorious Saxons became the actual masters of Milsko. Finally, as part of the pacification of relations in the Empire in the next years, Henry V reconciled with the leaders of the opposition, including Wiprecht II of Groitzsch. According to the *Annales Pegavienses*, all of his possessions were returned to him in 1117 – including, as one might guess, also Milsko and the land of Nižane (MGH SS 16, 253: *Omnibus igitur suis restitutis...*).

Otto Posse (1881, 272, fn. 186) and Richard Jecht (1930, 188–189) claimed that the restoration of possession to Wiprecht II took place not in 1117, as the annalist of Pegau would have liked, but only in 1118 or even 1119. They pointed out rightly that all that was described in the Annals of Pegau *sub anno* 1117 – the return of Wiprecht II to royal grace, his lengthy recovery of the castles Groitzsch and Leisnig, obtaining the burgraviate of Magdeburg and his endeavor to gain also the margraviate in Lusatia – could not have happened in 1117. On the other hand, Posse and Jecht were aware of the method, quite often employed by the annalist, to describe various actions that took place in different moments of time under one year, if only they constituted one thematic or narrative whole (see Posse 1881, 272, fn. 186; Jecht 1930a, 188, fn. 82; cf. also: Patze 1963, 6; Vogtherr 2001, 37–38). In fact, there is no doubt that all that was described under the year 1117 in *Annales Pegavienses* did not happen in this year. There is, however, no premise that would cast into doubt the date of release of Wiprecht II and the relative chronology of events described in the respective annalistic notice. Therefore, there is also no reason to doubt that the release of Wiprecht II and his efforts to regain Leisnig and Groitzsch preceded the granting of burgraviate in

⁵⁴ MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2, 211–212: *Cumque [Zobezlau] transisset silvam, occurrit ei Erkembertus, prefectus de castro Donin, [...] erat enim ea tempestate predictum castrum cesaris sub potestate.*

Magdeburg to Wiprecht by Archbishop Adelgot (which took place in 1118). This fits very well into the general framework of the political plans of Henry V at that time, who was in February 1117 departing on his expedition to Italy and thus was condemned to seeking compromise solutions in order to pacify the transalpine part of the Empire.

Such a political context of the release of Wiprecht II and his regaining all his previous possessions – which could have officially happened only in 1118 or 1119, as Posse and Jecht wanted, but was surely accepted by the emperor yet in 1117 – allows us to look at this event as a part of a broader attempt by the monarch to bring peace to his subjects living north of the Alps. It was in fact in 1117 that an unprecedented event occurred in Bohemia, the political background of which remains unknown to this day. In this year, Duke Vladislav I, allegedly moved by the difficult lot of his elder brother Bořivoj II, recalled him from exile and yielded the Prague throne to him, keeping for himself only a part of the principality located north of the Elbe.⁵⁵ Czech scholars have rightly pointed out that Vladislav probably wanted to avert a dynastic crisis on his own and thus disentangle himself from a stalemate in which neither he nor his brothers could count on outside help sufficient to ensure one of them a peaceful rule (Žemlička 1997, 136–137) and the imperial court could have mediated between Vladislav and Bořivoj (Vaníček 2007, 144; cf. FRB 2, 392). From the perspective of the history of Upper Lusatia, it seems important that the understanding between Vladislav and Bořivoj was also an agreement of a supporter of Henry V with a faithful ally of Wiprecht II. This arrangement must have been part of broader undertakings conducted under the aegis of Henry V as part of the pacification of relations in the Empire before his journey to Rome, and therefore it is likely that it was in this year that the understanding between Henry V and Wiprecht II of Groitzsch took place as a part of this package deal (cf. here the comments of Hentschel 1998, 70).

One reason for this this understanding was likely to maintain the bulwark of royal authority in the land of the Nižane, established after 1112 with the castle of Dohna and the institution of the *Burggrafschaft* associated with it. Interestingly, the office of the burgrave was not filled by a member of the German elite, but rather was entrusted to subsequent Czech rulers who were confirmed in this role without the title of burgrave, but in possession of the castle and the third part of the proceeds from

55 Cosmas III, 53 (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2, 217–218): *Similiter eodem anno et semper regnante domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius in manu corda sunt regum, quo etiam clementer inspirante dux Wladislaus recordatus est fratris sui Borivoy, cuius humilitatem iam Dominus prospectans, arcis de throno etherie, miseratus erat afflictionis eius et miserie et quia cui Deus miseretur, homo non potest non misereri, statim predictus dux iam nutu instinctus divino et Hermanni episcopi faciens omnia consilio mittit et revocat mense Decembri fratrem suum Borivoy de exilio, et satisfaciens sibi ac semetipsum eius submittens dominio, iterum collocat eum in principali solium. [...] Borivoy autem, non inmemor accepti beneficii, dat fratri suo dimidiam sui ducatus partem, que sita ultra fluvium Labe tendit ad aquilonem, eratque fratri suo, licet iuniori, in omnibus obediens et semper honore eum proveniens nihil sine consilio suo gessit.*

the jurisdiction between 1120–1139 (cf. FRB 2, 181, 204, 229). It thus seems that in 1117, Henry V, Vladislav I, Bořivoj II and Wiprecht II were able to develop a compromise acceptable to all parties involved. There was restitution for Bořivoj and Wiprecht that was carried out, however, in such a way that Henry and Vladislav kept them in check by controlling the strategically important passes through the Sudetes and Ore Mountains. The resulting labile balance only lasted until 1120, when Vladislav again exiled Bořivoj from Bohemia. This event did not, however, significantly impact the situation north of the mountains, where both Henry of Groitzsch and Vladislav I maintained their respective holdings.

3.3.3 Together or apart? The question of division of Milsko into the central-western and eastern parts before 1126

One of the crucial issues of Upper Lusatian history in the years 1081–1126 is whether it was operating as a single, undivided land or rather it was divided into two parts: the central-western (i.e., the former core area of the Milčane), ruled by the House of Groitzsch, and the eastern (roughly, the former lands of the *Besunzane*), directly governed by the Přemyslids. In the absence of direct sources illuminating the history of Eastern Upper Lusatia between 1081–1126, it is difficult to determine unambiguously if this region shared the fate of Milsko as a whole. This question was answered negatively by Richard Jecht, who stated that Milsko was split into the central-western and eastern parts as early as 1081 (Jecht 1930, 175–176, 191). According to this worthy scholar of the history of Görlitz, Wiprecht of Groitzsch received only the central and western parts of Milsko around Budyšin as Judith's dowry, and Eastern Upper Lusatia remained continuously in the hands of Přemyslids.

Jecht's opinion, widely accepted in the historiography, deserves attention despite the fact that his assumption dating the presumed division of Milsko into two parts to ca. 1081 is completely unbelievable. This idea was concocted by Jecht in a way only known to himself and is not supported by any decent arguments, as is a similar thesis of Hans Walther (1989b, 89), who proposed an even earlier date for the division of Milsko – 1054. If any of Jecht's concept is at all worth attention, it is the basic idea of this meritorious scholar that the division of Milsko into eastern and western part already took place during the reign of Henry IV. There are, however, no reasons why this event should have taken place only in 1081, and not a mere three years later, as part of the dispensing of Judith's dowry by her father Vratislav.

The possibility, already contemplated more than 200 years ago by Christian Ernst Weisse (1802, 64), that the division of Milsko took place in 1084, should be treated more seriously and with greater attention than Jecht's hypothesis of the division of Milsko in two parts in 1081. Two mentions in the Chronicle of the Canon of Vyšehrad referring to the ringfort of *Yzcorelik* (= **Zgořelec*, i.e. Görlitz) in the years 1126 and 1131 (FRB 2, 205, 212–213) make a convincing case that the separation of the territories

located on the Upper Nysa from the land of Budyšin took place at some point between 1076 and 1126. They show clearly that in 1126–1135 direct power on the eastern edge of Milsko was held not by the then-lord of Budyšin, the last of the counts of Groitzsch, Henry (d. December 31, 1135), but by Duke Soběslav I of Bohemia.

The main argument in favor of placing the division of Milsko already in 1184 is a note in the *Annales Pegavienses* stating that part of the dowry of Judith of Bohemia included two regions (*pagi*), *Nisen* and *Budesin*. As argued by Jecht (1930, 181), if the subject of the dowry were the whole of Milsko, the source would have also dropped its name; since it refers only to *Budesin*, this means that only the part of the former country of the Milčane located around its main center (i.e. the original land of the Milčane), was included. The consequences of this argument cannot be denied. In reality, the designation “the land of Budyšin” from at least 1160 (cf. CDB 1, no. 210: *in pago Bvdessin*) essentially meant only the central and western part, but not the eastern part of Upper Lusatia which was known at the time as Zagozd (cf. Gierach 1935; Schlesinger 1962, 313; Fokt 2013a, 237–238). At the same time, the designation “Milsko” that also included Eastern Upper Lusatia also endured into the twelfth century, as is evidenced both by the notes of the Canon of Vyšehrad *sub anno* 1131 (FRB 2, 212: *in partibus Milesko, iuxta flumen Niza*) as well as the appearance of royal holdings in the area of Eastern Upper Lusatia in the Registry of Royal Table Estates from the era of Frederick I Barbarossa under the name of *Milza* (Brühl, Kölzer eds. 1979, 53, Taf. I, III; cf. Kobuch 1996, 356–368; see also the critical assessment of Lemper 1997, 120).⁵⁶

Without denying the internal consistency of Jecht’s argument, it should, however, be noted that it regards the notes from the *Annales Pegavienses* inappropriately, as a contemporary description of the events of 1081 and 1112 (Jecht 1930a, 181, fn. 46a; see also a similar mistake by Lemper 1997, 111). Meanwhile, the Annals of Pegau came into being in the mid-twelfth century (cf. Patze 1963, 2–6) and the terminology used in them should be analyzed only in the context of this particular period. While it is difficult to avoid the impression that the onomastics used at the time in defining what later was Upper Lusatia depended largely on a certain convention established by the author of a given chronicle, the creator of a document or from the *modus operandi* of a particular chancellery (cf. Fokt 2013a, 237, 238), it does seem that the name “Milsko” remained in use only in the royal chancelleries in the twelfth century. Aside from these, in the documents of the dukes of Bohemia and the bishops of Meissen, the terms “*Budissin*” and “*Zagozd*” were used, the first of which meant the central-western part of Milsko and the second its eastern part lying in the Nysa River Valley, which was governed as a separate unit likely under the reign of Soběslav I (1126–1140) and treated as such also later (see below, sub-chapter 3.4). Today, we are well aware

⁵⁶ Walter Schlesinger (1937/1961b, 192, fn. 18) even denied that the name *Milsko* reached Eastern Upper Lusatia under Henry IV; this is clearly a mistake, as the charter issued by this ruler in December 1071 explicitly mentioned *Goreliz* as lying *in pago Milsca*.

of the historical youth of Zagozd as a separate “land”. This is explicitly evidenced in a document of Conrad III from 1144 (MGH DK III, no. 119) in which it was not the land of Budyšin that was listed next to Zagozd, but rather Milsko. In the eyes of the dictator of this diploma, it thus was the land of Budyšin and not Zagozd that was the successor to Milsko. Looking back from this perspective at the aforementioned notes from the *Annales Pegavienses*, it should be consistently noted that their author might have felt entitled to use the term *Budesin* both when he had the whole of Milsko in mind as well as when he meant only the central-western part around Budyšin. Furthermore, it cannot be ruled out that just as the concept of “Milsko” functioned in a broad and narrow understanding, the appellation *Budesin* could cover not only the central-western parts of the land around Budyšin, but also the entire territory of what later became Upper Lusatia. After all, only for some time under Soběsláv I the Nysa Valley was governed separately from the Spree area and even at the end of the second period of Přemyslid rule (1136–1143) as well as under Conrad the Great of Wettin (1143–1156), the entire former territory of Milsko became *de facto* a single administrative entity, despite consisting of two separate lands.⁵⁷ To summarize the above arguments, it must be said that an analysis based on the terminology used in the Annals of Pegau cannot determine whether in 1084 Eastern Upper Lusatia really remained separate from the lands of Budyšin, or if this event took place later.

The second possibility is undoubtedly supported by concerns of a more practical nature. It is no secret that the dowry from Judith’s father was considered to be very rich. This was well-remembered in the circle of people associated with the lords of Groitzsch, as evidenced by the stylization of the pertinent note in the *Annales Pegavienses*. It is reported that originally Vratislav was willing to transfer to Wiprecht a fragment of some Bohemian province as Judith’s dowry, but at his son-in-law’s express request he changed his mind, giving his daughter the regions of *Nisen* and *Budesin*. The formulation of this presentation does not leave any doubts as to the intentions of the author of the note – he wanted to present Wiprecht, the founder and benefactor of the Pegau Monastery, as a person who was so valuable for Vratislav that he was ready to give up two provinces (and not a fragment of one) only in order to gain such a resourceful son-in-law. If this same note is stripped of its rhetorical trappings and we look more closely only at the facts, one can, however, arrive at another conclusion. It is in all likelihood that Vratislav considered it more beneficial to give Wiprecht two provinces lying beyond the mountains than transferring to him a fragment of his native Bohemia. Apparently, he expected that in giving these provinces to be ruled by his son-in-law, he would profit more than if he ruled them directly.

⁵⁷ One must admit, however, that the first trace of this expanded idea of the “land of Budyšin” is the Ebstorf Map from the early 13th century, where Budyšin means both the city and country (cf. Schrage 2004a, 66); also in a few charters dating before 1230 there may be found the notion of land of Budyšin as the whole territory of Upper Lusatia (cf. CDLS 1, nos. 15–16; CDB 2, nos. 201, 308, 343).

By closely working with Wiprecht, he could count on him both in matters concerning the Empire as well as in terms of his policy towards Poland, without having to pay any costs for ruling these distant provinces. From such a perspective, there would be no reason for Vratislav to keep a tiny part of Milsko under his direct rule. In fact, Eastern Upper Lusatia, isolated from Bohemia by a broad belt of forested mountains, would have been for Vratislav more of a burden than a gain (it is even possible that maintaining a garrison in such a remote military outpost would have cost the Duke of Bohemia much more than he could reasonably squeeze out of the local population). Therefore, it would be most reasonable to assume that Milsko had not been divided into a central-western and eastern part either in 1081 or 1084.

An apparent argument for early separation of Eastern Upper Lusatia from the rest of Milsko could be the *patrocinium* of St. Wenceslaus that is still borne today by the parish church in Jauernick. St. Wenceslaus is, after all, the patron of the Přemyslid family and the heavenly caretaker of the entire Czech political community, referred to in the sources as the *familia sancti Venceslai* (cf. Žemlička 1997, 336–340; Třeštík 2000; Vaníček 2007, 184, 195–196, *passim*; Žemlička 2011, 211). Making this particular saint the patron of the church in Jauernick would thus indicate the founder of the parish was a member of the Přemyslid family. This argument is weak, however. After all, Judith, Wiprecht's wife, was also a member of this dynasty. The fact that she brought the cult of the Czech saint to the family of her German husband is even evidenced in that Wiprecht and Judith's firstborn son was christened as Wenceslaus, though in the historiography, not only by German authors, he is known more frequently as Wiprecht III (cf. Novotný 1913, 476, fn. 1; Vaníček 2007, 23). The location of the church in Jauernick, on the western edge of Eastern Upper Lusatia, suggests, by the way, that its foundation was by the ruler residing in Budyšin rather than in Prague.

As Richard Jecht accepted that the separation of Eastern Upper Lusatia from the rest of Milsko must have taken place during the reign of Henry IV, he did not at all consider the possible influence of Henry V on these events. In fact, it was only under the rule of this last ruler of the Salian dynasty that a profound change in the political situation took place that, at least theoretically, could have led to the creation of some system for governing Eastern Upper Lusatia independently from the current holder of Budyšin. I speak here of course of the seizure of Milsko and the land of Nižane from Wiprecht II of Groitzsch in 1112, which gave Henry V the opportunity to create stronger foundations for his direct influence over these territories. The ruler took advantage of these opportunities without fail vis-à-vis the land of Nižane, creating there the *Burggrafschaft* in Dohna, which was governed first by a royal administrator (burggrave) and then by Dukes of Bohemia. The surviving sources do not suggest, however, that the monarch took similar steps with regard to Eastern Upper Lusatia. There are no mentions of a burgrave for this area or of their being possessed by a ruler other than the current possessor of Budyšin. It thus remains assumed that Wiprecht of Groitzsch before 1112, Hoyer of Mansfeld in 1112–1115 and then Wiprecht II again (1117–1124) and his son Henry (1124–1135) possessed the entirety of Milsko as a benefice.

One may, of course, call on some circumstantial evidence to hypothesize that the easternmost part of Milsko was divided from the rest already before 1126. One such premise would be the Slavic name of the fortifice existing in Görlitz before 1126.⁵⁸ One could also possibly in this context refer to some indirect factors: Vladislav I's receipt of the prerogatives of the burgrave of Dohna, likely in 1117 (cf. above, sub-chapt. 3.3.2), which could suggest that the royal holdings in Milsko came also under the control of the Duke of Bohemia at that period,⁵⁹ as well as the note of Cosmas of Prague (III, 56) on the travel of *comes* Stephen, who headed to Poland from the seat of Henry of Groitzsch (likely Budyšin) through the forests of the Lower Bóbr River Valley at the command of Soběslav I.⁶⁰ The route of Count Stephen's journey could indicate that he tried to avoid Eastern Upper Lusatia, which again would suggest that the area was ruled at the time by Soběslav's rival, Vladislav I.

All of the mentioned conditions are, nevertheless, ambiguous. A Slavic name for a hillfort was certainly not surprising at the very fringe of the Empire and in the midst of a Slavic settlement cluster. The fate of the Dohna castle and the administration of the local burgrave also did not directly translate to the history of Milsko, and the journey of *comes* Stephen certainly did not have to go through Eastern Upper Lusatia, even if it was in the possession of Henry of Groitzsch at the time (1124). After all, Stephen could have set out from Budyšin via the Spree Valley and continued his journey by this route to the place where it came closest to the course of the Nysa, as the latter was reached by the path later known as the *Muskauer Steig* (*Musatenstic*: see CDLS 1, no. 58; cf. Jänecke 1923, 32–33; Helbig 1956, 111). The rest of the route would have run the same way regardless of whether he would have departed from Budyšin or from the Nysa Valley. The issue of whether Vladislav I ruled over the Nysa area can also not be decided by another fragment from the Chronicle of Cosmas (III, 39), in light of which Duke Soběslav wanted to force his way to Poland in 1113 *per Zribiam* (i.e. via the lands of Nižane and Milsko),⁶¹ since one could get

⁵⁸ FRB 2, 212–213: *Interea transcurrente tempore dux Sobieslaus ad radicem cuiusdam villae nomine Tachow in finibus Mesco castrum aedificavit, quod ex nomine adiacenti villae apellavit; alius quoque aedificavit in partibus Milesko iuxta flumen Niza, apellavitque nomine Yzhorelik, quod antea Drenow vocabatur.*

⁵⁹ Theoretically it may not be even excluded that it was not Vladislav, but his brother and rival Soběslav, who was in exile from 1123 and maintained good relations with Henry of Groitzsch, who received this dominion not from royal hands, but from Henry himself.

⁶⁰ MGH SS NS 2, 230: [*Zobeslaus*] *vertit iter ad Wigberti natum, quo consolaretur de obitu sui patris suum per sororem cognatum, et exinde misit ad Polonie principem Stephanum comitem, per hunc enim sua omnia dosponebat consilia. Qui cum transiret silvam, que est inter Saxoniam et Poloniam, incidit in armatas latronum manus.*

⁶¹ MGH SS NS 2, 211: *Statimque Zobezlau reversus ad suos tenuit viam, volens per Zribiam transire in Poloniam...*

there from the area of Budyšin without passing through Eastern Upper Lusatia. In this case, the first “solid” confirmation of the rule of the Duke of Bohemia upon the Nysa turns out to be the very note of the Canon of Vyšehrad regarding the actions of Soběslav I in 1126. Therefore, until new sources about these issues are found, any circumstantial reasoning suggesting the division of Milsko before 1126, recalled or proposed above, should be treated as inconclusive and based on speculative data.

3.4 Two lands of one: 1126–1156

In the light of the above, between 1126–1156, the eastern and central-western parts of Upper Lusatia became formations distinct from each other for the first time since the period of the co-existence of the *Milčane* and the *Besunzane* a century and a half before. The period which began with the construction of the *Yzcorelik* fortress in Görlitz in 1126 on behalf of Duke Soběslav I (1125–1140) also saw the growing attention of territorial rulers in Upper Lusatia, evidenced by the few primary source mentions of the activities of Soběslav I and Conrad I of Wettin in the lands on the Nysa, which shall be more broadly discussed and interpreted in sections 3.4.1–2. Still, however, the most important factor remained the will of subsequent German kings, who effectively enforced their policies towards the far-away province.

3.4.1 Görlitz as Soběslav I's outpost north of the mountains after 1126

A laconic note in the chronicles of the Canon of Vyšehrad, the continuator of the works of Cosmas of Prague, on the repair of the *Yzcorelik* (**Zgořelec*) ringfort in the area of the current town Görlitz (on the Burgberg, where the Peterskirche now stands, cf. Jecht 1927–1934, 484) in 1126 (FRB 2, 205) is the first direct mention listing the current ruler of Eastern Upper Lusatia since the times of the document of Henry IV of December 11, 1071. Contrary to the assumptions advanced in the historiography (Jecht 1926, 10; cf. Lemper 1996, 16–17; Lemper 1997, 110–111; Schrage 2004a, 61), the strengthening of this ringfort was likely not a project directed against King Lothair III. The confrontation of Soběslav with Lothair took place, after all, at the very beginning of 1126 (in February); it is therefore very unlikely that the Duke of Bohemia had at the time any desire, time or opportunity to engage in the fortification of a minor hillfort on the Nysa instead of fighting against his enemies in Moravia or securing the main route to Bohemia from Saxony located at the conjunction of the Sudetes and Ore Mountains. Since the war between the King and the Duke of Bohemia ended in a lasting understanding, after its conclusion there did also not exist any motivation that could have led to Soběslav I strengthening a ringfort on the Nysa against Lothair III.



Figure 3.8: The Castle Hill (Burgberg) in Görlitz. Photo by Paweł Zubrzycki, 2013.

If there thus existed a link between Lothair's and Soběslav's confrontation and the reconstruction of the ringfort in Görlitz, this act by the Duke of Bohemia in Eastern Upper Lusatia should not be interpreted as an attempt to strengthen the stronghold against the emperor. It was rather the opposite: it was only Soběslav's reconciliation with the king and Lothair's recognition of his princely title that allowed the Duke of Bohemia to operate effectively on the Nysa. This conclusion is based on logistical realities. Eastern Upper Lusatia was located within a day's journey of the closest German garrison, which was stationed at the time in Budyšin, ruled by Henry of Groitzsch, who sympathized with his uncle Soběslav but was loyal to Lothair. On the other hand, the possible Czech garrison on the Nysa could not have counted on a quick rescue and if it wanted to fight its way back to Bohemia, it would have had to do so along a road stretching 70–90 km through forests that was also easy to blockade (e.g. at the Nysa Gorge). These same logistical obstacles, moreover, made occupying Eastern Upper Lusatia an unattractive tactical objective for Lothair III and his field commanders as well. Gaining this foothold in no way would have facilitated the quick submission of the Czechs, and that was what the emperor was after, as demonstrated by the course of his hasty campaign, completed by a crushing defeat of the Saxons at Chlumec on 18 February 1126.

The analysis presented above on the potential role of Eastern Upper Lusatia in the military campaign of early 1126 demonstrates that the strengthening of the *Yzcorelik*

hillfort by Soběslav took place not during the war of the Duke of Bohemia with the king, but already after its conclusion. This interpretation is also supported by the position of the relevant citations in the text of the Chronicle of the Canon of Vyšehrad. If we take into account the lack of conclusive evidence in the question if Vladislav I could already have ruled Eastern Upper Lusatia, it is worth considering the hypothesis that it was only Soběslav I, after concluding his accord with Lothair III, who became the ruler of the eastern borderlands of Milsko. This assumption is likely insofar as the accord between Lothair and Soběslav was mediated by Henry of Groitzsch, who was the burgrave of Magdeburg, Lord of Budyšin, as well as Soběslav's nephew.

The further fates of the holdings of Henry of Groitzsch also speak for this interpretation of the events of 1126. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the accord concluded by Lothair, Soběslav and Henry two years later on the occasion of the baptism of the son of the Duke of Bohemia. Lothair III held the child for baptism, but the godson – and this can be judged from a cursory reading of the relevant notes in the chronicles – did not receive any gifts directly from the king, but only a declaration from Henry of Groitzsch that he would own his lands after his death (FRB 2, 205). Without overlooking the masterly skill shown here by Lothair, almost comparable with a similar gesture by Henry V vis-à-vis the son of duke Svatopluk in 1108 (almost – because Henry V was more impudent),⁶² from the viewpoint of this study it is worth paying attention to the legal content of this accord. Although the king did not give anything to his godson that he himself possessed and did not incur any costs, in the legal sense, however, he was the donor. After all, he was the owner of the properties in question, defined in the text as a *pheodum*, i.e. possessed by Henry as a benefice. The present received by Soběslav's son from the king thus was in accordance with the cession accomplished by Henry, which without the consensus of the owner could not have been legally binding (cf. Meister 1901/2011, 88; Ganshof 1996, 144–145, 148).

With the swift death of Soběslav's son, Henry's bequest became pointless. The legal-political construction used on this occasion must, however, have satisfied all three interested parties since Henry of Groitzsch finally accomplished this and Lothair III ratified a similar bequest, only with Soběslav as its beneficiary (cf. below, in this sub-chapter).⁶³ All of these measures required to justify the succession of the Přemyslids after Henry combine a general idea. Namely, they mean the transfer to Soběslav or his descendants of certain benefits (or prospects of those) at the expense of the resources at the disposal of Henry of Groitzsch, but in a way that the glory from this title fell on Lothair III and simultaneously avoiding a breach of the substance of

⁶² On the occasion of his baptism, the boy was “given” the still unpaid part of the contribution that had been earlier forced out by his godfather, Henry V, from his father Svatopluk (see the details by Cosmas III, 21–22, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2, 187–188; cf. Žemlička 1997, 131–132; Vaníček 2007, 95–96).

⁶³ Joanna Sobiesiak (2011, 92) erroneously stated that final success of Přemyslids in taking over Milsko and the land of Nižane resulted from the first accord with Henry and Lothair in 1128.

the property of the king or kingdom. This idea was probably not born in 1128; it could have been already conceived between the three stakeholders in 1126, after Lothair's utter defeat at the Battle of Chlumec (February 18, 1126).

The negotiations after the Battle of Chlumec were the first occasion that Lothair III and Soběslav I met as rulers. Defeated and surrounded by his army, the king sent Soběslav's nephew Henry of Groitzsch as a peace envoy to the Duke of Bohemia (see Novotný 1913, 580–581, with reference to all relevant sources; see also Hentschel 1998, 72; Vaníček 2007, 193–194). The count completed this “mission impossible” very efficiently: he achieved the release of the royal army without having to pay a ransom, at the price, however, of Lothair entrusting to Soběslav a standard, i.e. an investiture for the Duchy of Bohemia. The accord concluded on the battlefield was sustained, and Soběslav I remained an ally and political friend of Lothair III until the end of the king's life. The problem of the benefices possessed by Henry of Groitzsch on the frontier of the Czech lands were likely already brought up during these negotiations; they were the same lands (Milsko and the land of Nižane) that previously had been ruled by Vladislav I and known to the Czech chroniclers as *Zribia* (i.e. ‘the land of Serbs’). In any case, it does not seem to be a coincidence that Lothair, Soběslav and Henry implemented the prepared plan for the succession of Soběslav's son after Henry in 1128. In this context, it is probably a sound assumption that already during the peace negotiations in 1126 Soběslav could have received, as a sign of the king's good faith, the easternmost part of Milsko, dominated by the royal possessions but thus far most probably wielded as a benefice by Henry of Groitzsch.

As an indication that it was so may serve the context of the reference to the rebuilding of the *Yzcorelik* ringfort in 1126. Here, the Canon of Vyšehrad mentioned that Soběslav also rebuilt the Přimda and Tachov castles that same year. Přimda at least was located in a disputed territory; the first fortification in this area was likely built in 1121 on the initiative of the German counts of Vohburg. This caused, *nota bene*, a lightning-fast counteraction by Vladislav I, who then seized this first castle, ordered it destroyed and its defenders hung from the nearby trees.⁶⁴ The rebuilding of Přimda at the initiative of the Czechs not long after the accord with Lothair III does not leave any doubt that Soběslav I must not have been worried about counteractions from the king and his subjects. In other words, in February 1126, he likely received from Lothair permission to erect his own stronghold on the border of Bavaria or at least a guarantee that such a step would not cause new frictions. This consent was even more necessary

⁶⁴ Cosmas III, 48 (MGH SS rer Germ. NS 2, 220: *Eodem anno quidam ex Teutonicis infra terminos Boemorum in silva, ad quam itur per villam Bela, in prerrupta rupe edificant castrum. Quod audiens dux Wladislaus, acceptis tribus scaris ex electis militibus, repente ex inproviso irruens obtinuit castrum [...]. Illos autem Teutonicos, qui erant in castro capti, nisi comes Albertus superveniens multis precibus et innata sibi sagacitate liberasset, procul dubio iam dux in eadem silva omnes suspendi iusserat* (cf. here also Klápšte 2012, 232–235, with further ref.).

in order to strengthen the ringfort in Görlitz, which stood not on no-man's land but in the middle of the royal estates.

It thus appears that after his victory at Chlumec, Soběslav demanded some real, though not costly, concessions from the king and received them, while in Eastern Upper Lusatia the Duke of Bohemia simply replaced his nephew, Henry of Groitzsch, as the holder of the royal properties in this sub-region. Such a development would fit well in the context of the political events of the years 1125–1126 in Germany, where the struggle between Lothair III and his Staufic adversaries about the heritage of Henry V was just beginning (cf. Wadle 1969, 51–57). After all, even after the award of Regensburg from 1125, which attempted to discern the public and private sections of the bequest of the last Salian emperor (cf. Wadle 1969, 101–123, *passim*), the legal status of royal possessions in Eastern Upper Lusatia was not clear. It seems even that these possessions, as former allodia of the Ekkehardines bequeathed to Henry III (cf. below, sub-chapt. 5.6), should be actually treated as *Hausgut* and not *Reichsgut*. Of course, in 1126 the enemies of Lothair III had no chance to influence the fate of the royal holdings in the eastern provinces; it was, nevertheless, advantageous for the emperor to underpin his right to those possessions by passing them to Soběslav I, who thus became also interested in defending the status of laical possessions in Eastern Upper Lusatia as a royal demesne.

The obtaining of Eastern Upper Lusatia and strengthening of the hillfort in Görlitz preceded a general reorientation of Soběslav's foreign policy. Having secured his hinterlands through an alliance with Lothair III, the Duke of Bohemia pursued an active policy in Hungarian and Polish affairs. This took the form of a Polish-Czech military confrontation only in 1132–1133. Even earlier, however, between 1126–1131, Soběslav strengthened the Czech frontiers against Poland. An element of this plan was undoubtedly the re-building of the ringfort *Yzhorelik* (**Zgōřelec*) in 1126 as well as its renewed fortification five years later (FRB 2, 205, 212–213; cf. Lemper 1996, 16–18; Schrage 2004a, 62); the reconstruction of the castle in Kłodzko in 1129 should be considered in the same context (FRB 2, 206; cf. Cetwiński 2009, 26). Probably both strengthening activities occurred quite useful in 1132–1133, when Soběslav and his men carried out two devastating raids into the holdings of the Piasts in the Odra River Valley (see FRB 2, 216).

The ringfort in Görlitz on the Nysa could have been the starting point for the second raid, which was conducted in the late winter and early spring of 1133. This arises from the information in the chronicles of the Canon of Vyšehrad that the aggressive action of the previous year was related to Silesia, which must surely be understood as the old lands of the Ślężanie south of Wrocław.⁶⁵ It is not likely that

⁶⁵ FRB 2, 216: *Interea dux Sobieslaus dei misericordia precibusque sancti Wenceslai munitus, Poloniam cum exercitu suo XV. Kal. Novembris intravit, totamque partem illius regionis, que Slezsko vocatur, penitus igne consumpsit.*

Soběslav carried out a subsequent attack on lands that he had already ravaged; rather, he attacked lands that were thus far untouched, those located further west in the regions of Legnica and/or Głogów. With the state of forestation of the Sudetes and their forelands at the time, getting there from any extreme point of the Czech lands would have undoubtedly been difficult. The closest Czech stronghold was **Zgořelec* (Görlitz), and probably in this context we should look at the interest of Soběslav I in this structure, the evidence for which are the notes of the Canon of Vyšehrad under the years 1126 and 1131.

3.4.2 Upper Lusatia re-united: under the Přemyslids and Conrad of Wettin

The strategic importance of Görlitz began to decline with the advent of the détente between Soběslav I and Bolesław III, crowned by the Peace in Kłodzko of May 30, 1137. As the Polish and Czech rulers concluded this agreement, Eastern Upper Lusatia was, however, surely not the sole enclave of Czech influence north of the Sudetes. The death of Henry of Groitzsch (December 31, 1135) put on the agenda the problem of taking over his legacy; a note of the Annals of Hradiště and Opatovice monasteries *sub anno* 1136 (FRB 2, 395) leaves no doubt that at least part of Henry's former holdings were taken over by Soběslav I. The central-western part of Milsko with its center in Budyšin likely was included here. In any case, Czech rule in this castle is confirmed in the annals of Vincent of Prague in the context of the events of 1142, when Vladislav II sent his brother Henry there in order to gather the troops against the army of Conrad II of Znojmo besieging the Prague castle.⁶⁶

The final acquisition of the whole of Milsko by the Přemyslids, however, could not have taken place in 1136, but only three years later. In 1139, the chronicle of the Canon of Vyšehrad reported that Soběslav I acquired some fortifications from Wiprecht's widow for the considerable sum of 700 *marcas* of silver and transferring incomes from the burgraviat judiciary in Dohna.⁶⁷ We are not speaking here about the second wife of Wiprecht II (as in Gautsch 1880, 13–14, and mistakenly by Jecht

⁶⁶ FRB 2, 412: [*Wladislaus*] *Heinricum uero Būdisin pro colligendu exercitu misit* [...]. The credibility of Vincent's notes has been questioned by Hermann Knothe (1874, 285–286, fn. 21), but without giving a clear critique of the notes of the Annalists of Hradiště–Opatovice monasteries (FRB 2, 395), which contradicts his claim that the entirety of Milsko had already been received in 1136 by Conrad of Wettin (Knothe 1874, 284–285; see also the too cautious statement of H. Walther 1989b, 100, dating the takeover of Upper Lusatia by Conrad the Great to the period 1135–1144), and the annals of Vincent of Prague, who wrote that in 1157 emperor Frederick I *castrum Būddisin se reddere promittit* (FRB 2, 424), i.e. return Budyšin to Wladislav, which implies that Duke of Bohemia used to rule there earlier.

⁶⁷ FRB 2, 229: *Anno dominice incarnationis 1139 dux Sobieslaus ab uxore Wigberti aliquot castra DCC marcis argenti redemit. Addidit ei praeterea tertium denarium in castro Donin. Confirmatis igitur militibus, qui castra custodierunt, [...]*

1930a, 192) who died c. 1117, nor about Henry of Groitzsch's widow (as by Palacký 1836, 412; Novotný 1913, 638, 656 and Bönhoff 1915, 203–204) who died in 1137, but rather about Kunegunde of Beichlingen, the widow of Wiprecht III, who died only in 1140 (cf. Jecht 1930a, 192; Schlesinger 1953, 61, fn. 4; Thieme 2001, 157, fn. 48). The significant amount that Soběslav paid for these unspecified fortifications⁶⁸ raises the question of whether this could have been only for the holdings in Milsko and the land of Nižane that made up part of Kunegunde's widow's annuity (which would be probable according to Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 78) or if perhaps this was also about some other properties. In any case, it is highly likely that by 1139 at the latest, Soběslav I was the ruler of all of Milsko and the land of Nižane, i.e. both lands located to the north of the Sudetes and Ore Mountains that by the grace of Henry IV had been possessed by Vratislav II. Therefore, the Canon of Vyšehrad in his note on the duke's death in 1140 justly attributed to him, besides hereditary rule in Bohemia and supremacy over Moravia, the *curam Sirbiae* as well (FRB 2, 232).

The whole of Soběslav I's legacy, including rule over the future Upper Lusatia, based on the decisions of the Czech political elites was taken over not by his son Vladislav, as the deceased ruler had planned, but by his nephew of the same name, the son of Vladislav I. The rule of Vladislav II in Milsko and the land of Nižane lasted only a short time, however. Already in 1142, when Vladislav had almost completely lost power in the Czech lands to local nobles and his challenger from the Moravian line of the Přemyslids, Conrad II of Znojmo, only the intervention of King Conrad III returned the authority in Prague to him. Although there is no conclusive evidence for this, it is assumed that it was on this occasion that the German king obtained Vladislav's renunciation of Milsko and the land of Nižane (cf. Bönhoff 1915, 205; Jecht 1926, 13, fn. 1 beginning on the previous page; Kapras 1935, 6; Helbig 1955, 4; Kobuch 1996, 332, 344; Schrage 2004a, 63). This hypothesis best explains why in 1144 the lands in question were no longer administered by the Duke of Bohemia, but by the Margrave of Meissen, Conrad I of Wettin (see MGH DK III, no. 119).

The acquisition by Conrad of Wettin of all three lands previously possessed by the Přemyslids – the land of Nižane and the two parts of Upper Lusatia – became one of the many achievements of this ruler, who became the *de facto* creator of his family's might (cf. Pätzold 1997, 39–40; Blaschke 2007, 15–16). His taking possession of the land of Nižane, Milsko and Zagozd could thus be considered as the culmination of the efforts of the Margrave of Meissen to assume control of the largest part of the legacy of the lords of Groitzsch (cf. Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 78). Contrary to the claims by Hermann Knothe (1874, 284–285, *passim*), the takeover of

⁶⁸ A few decades before, the sum of the contribution gathered by Duke Svatopluk from the entire Duchy of Bohemia, which exhausted all the resources of the ducal, ecclesiastical and private treasuries, was ten times higher (see Cosmas III 21–22, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2, 187–188; cf. Hentschel 1998, 66; Váníček 2007, 95).

these lands by Conrad of Wettin should not, however, be treated as to some extent automatic acquisition of an inheritance by a close relative after the extinction of a family line. One must keep in mind that the agreement was about benefices rather than allodial holdings and that the succession of Soběslav I after Henry of Groitzsch had been ratified by Lothair III and accepted by the Saxon elites. Moreover, in 1140 King Conrad III even accepted the acquisition of the lands in question by Vladislav II instead of Soběslav's son. It should rather be assumed, therefore, that the transfer of these territories to the Margrave of Meissen was not an obvious and self-evident step by them into the succession of the House of Groitzsch, but rather an element of the domestic policies of Conrad III. In the face of an ongoing competition with the Welfs, the king needed badly support from the Saxon nobles or at least some factions among them (cf. Pätzold 1997, 36; Thieme 2001, 152, fn. 23). Therefore, he indeed gave the rule over the three lands (Milsko, Zagozd and the land of Nižane) to Conrad of Wettin, but also took care of creating at least in one of them of an institution directly relying on himself: the burgraviate in Dohna (cf. Thieme 2001, 155–156, *passim*; Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 78, 84). It is obscure why he did not use such an opportunity to “buy” such support from Conrad of Wettin in 1140 but did not hesitate to do so two years later. One may only suppose that in 1140 the Czech nobles were rather unanimous about the question of succession after Soběslav I and it was hard for the king to oppose them without causing damage to mutual good relations with the important Slavic polity. This was not the case in 1142, when Conrad was able to support one of two pretenders and order him to pay for the help by giving up the two benefices in question.

Unfortunately, the primary sources are silent on the course of Conrad of Wettin's reign in both parts of the future Upper Lusatia after 1144. It is known, however, that rule over the lands located on the Spree and Nysa was not taken over by any of his sons after Margrave Conrad relinquished his worldly offices and entered the monastery he founded in Petersberg in 1156 (on that event and its context, see: Lindner 2002; Lyon 2007, 154–166). In fact, it is conceivable that retiring from these lands was the type of price that Conrad was willing to pay for the smooth succession of his descendants in the other lands of his vast dominium – especially while his position under Frederick I Barbarossa was much worse than under Lothair III and Conrad III. Actually, in light of the sharp analysis conducted recently by Michael Lindner (2002; see also Thieme 2002, 113), the situation of Conrad in 1156 was so poor that he should have been glad to be allowed to pass most of his lands to his five sons, even at the expense of losing Upper Lusatia and splitting his vast dominion among many heirs.

3.5 From counts to *homines novi* and back: preliminary results of Chapter 3

Chapter 3 was, to even greater degree than the previous one, written in contrary to some assertions widespread in the historiography. Of course, there was no need to write a new history of political events and military campaigns of the years 1002–1031, which is well known from splendid accounts of Thietmar of Merseburg and other sources. In fact, for this well-known period only one Upper Lusatian episode – the siege of the *urbs magna Businc* (today Landeskrona in Görlitz) – has had to be commented in a detailed manner (see above, 3.1.1.), and the results of this closer insight would be extremely important for some further arguments (cf. below, sub-chapters 4.1, 5.6). Much more work was there to be done for the forty years following the final re-conquest of Milsko by Conrad II (1031–1071). In fact, the political history of Upper Lusatia in that period has had to be written anew. Instead of implying a permanent union of Milsko with Meissen and thus “borrowing” the whole list of margraves from there – which was done by Jecht (1930) and further authors – I have tried to resort to the sources and thus drew quite a different picture of who and when ruled Milsko in that “dark age”, on which only a few annalist accounts and one charter shed some light. According to this alternative vision, basing upon acute suppositions of older scholarship, in the years 1032–1034 Milsko functioned as a separate county under Ekkehard II (cf. above, 3.2.1), and in the years 1046–1069 it was united not with Meissen, but with the Saxon Eastern March under Dedi II (cf. above, 3.2.2). It seems, therefore, that even in this period of relative external security (at least compared to the permanent state-of-war in the years 1002–1031), the list of events concerning Milsko did not embrace only the subsequent changes of rulers in the same political framework, but profound changes of the framework itself.

The years 1081–1156 were much better reflected in the sources and thus no greater corrections of the traditional picture of the history of Upper Lusatia in that period are needed. A few minor emendations, however, have appeared necessary in order to properly understand what actually was going on in the region during these 75 years. Most important of these conjectures is the abandoning of a widespread concept of Richard Jecht (1930) – previously accepted also by the author of this book (Bena et al. 2010, 36, 44) – that during all the period 1081–1126 the easternmost part of Milsko lying in the catchment basin of Nysa was separated from the rest of the land and remained under direct control of the Přemyslids. According to the arguments presented in section 3.3.3, it was most probably not the case and the separation of central-western and eastern parts of Milsko took place only in 1126 as a result of an agreement between Lothair III and Soběslav I. Another significant correction of the picture of political history elaborated by Jecht (1930) was the attempt to return to the date of 1117, known from the Annals of Pegau, as the moment when all the possessions were restored to Wiprecht II of Groitzsch. There is no doubt that this event should be seen in its broader diplomatic context, especially through the prism of unprecedented

and somehow surprising restoration of Bořivoj II to the ducal throne in Prague (cf. above, 3.3.2).

Appropriate interpretation of the course of political events presented above will be possible only after the analysis of the developments in the field of structural means of governance (Chapter 4), thus it will be conducted only in the summarizing Chapter 6. What is, however, striking and may be tentatively commented on here, is the contrast between the times before and after ca. 1076 (the date of deposition of Egbert II from the function of margrave in Meissen) in respect of the intensity of the immediate means of governance applied. The Liudolfings and first three Salian kings until 1076 always looked for a consensual character of their rule on the eastern frontier; all the regions there were governed by a group of Saxon noble families, or rather dynasties. Only Henry II and Conrad II at the very beginning of his reign took some immediate measures to prevent greater concentration of power by the margraves, e.g. by creating a separate county in Milsko (1005–1007 and 1032–1034) or through rich donations to the bishop of Meissen. Generally, however, concentration of margraval power in the frontier areas like Milsko was strong, the group of families feeling entitled to rule there small and stable, and their hereditary claims treated seriously by the monarchs even after the first “bangarang” in Saxony (1069). Only after the general Saxon uprising did Henry IV depart from the path of his predecessors, taking quite a radical measure of investiture of *homines novi* in the easternmost provinces. This political line was continued until the mid-twelfth century, though in details the concepts of subsequent rulers varied deeply. The new men rewarded with the possession of Milsko and the neighboring land of the Nižane were either Saxons advancing in the hierarchy of nobles (Wiprecht II of Groitzsch, Hoyer of Mansfeld), or the Přemyslids (Vratislav II, Soběslav I, Vladislav II), who played their role in the system of the Empire, being, however, at the same time *de facto* fully sovereign rulers of Bohemia. The only return of one of the older Saxon noble families to the game – significantly, combined with the respect of the ruler for their hereditary claims to the heritage of the house of Groitzsch – was the episode of Conrad the Great of Wettin ruling the land in the years 1143–1156. Also the case of Henry of Groitzsch might be seen as a significant example of royal respect for the hereditary claims to Milsko; it must be, however, kept in mind that count Henry was obedient to every emperor he had to deal with and left no heir, so that there was no need to replace him with any other *homo novus*.

Looking for the reasons of the significant change of attitude of subsequent kings towards the most outlying province of their realm one must remember that the time of Liudolfings and first two Salians were a period of rather effective cooperation of kings with the Saxon elite and, in the same time, of external threat in the form of energetic Polish and Czech monarchies. The mid-eleventh century brought new *modus vivendi* between the three polities, in which there was no place for any grand aggressive actions of Slavic partners against the Empire. From 1031, the right of the German kings to rule over Milsko was never challenged anymore. That is probably why subsequent rulers, beginning with Henry IV, began to dispose of Milsko and the neighboring land

of the Nižane more freely, granting those lands to their loyal supporters as a reward for their services, even if the supporters were not their subjects, but neighboring rulers. It must be stressed, however, that such free conduct characterized only the attitude of the monarchs against those two most outlying provinces neighboring with Bohemia. Meissen and Lower Lusatia, on the contrary, from the 1080's on were ruled by the counts from the house of Wettin (with short interference in 1120's, and in Lower Lusatia: also early 1130's), i.e. members of the old Saxon margraval elite. Nevertheless, these were always checked by the two most outlying provinces – be they controlled by the lords of Groitzsch or the Přemyslids – and Bohemia itself, over which every king wanted to keep some control, at least through a befriended duke in Prague. Such a system was not very vulnerable even when the *personae dramatis* and their interrelations changed: e.g., emperor Henry V having Vladislav I in charge of at least part of Bohemia still could be sure that Bořivoj II and the lords of Groitzsch were being effectively kept at bay (cf. above, 3.3.2). One may of course argue that none of the rulers exactly knew and planned any special conduct with the two provinces (Milsko and the land of the Nižane), and this statement will be true. Nevertheless, the continuation of Henry IV's idea to exclude the outlying provinces from the jurisdiction of margraves and pass them to one or another *homo novus* – with one significant example of Conrad III, who allowed for the inclusion of those lands back into the March of Meissen – shows that this idea was an attractive way to get rid of the costs of administering those regions without any threat to the lordship over them and at the same time without granting them to a representative of the old Saxon elite. In fact, the *moda operandi* employed by subsequent kings were even more subtle, which, however, may be properly discerned only through joint analysis of how immediate and structural means of governance were applied by them (see below, Chapter 6).

4 The structural framework of governance

The last few decades of historical research have been focused on social interactions as a key issue in the research on the past. Medievalists have withdrawn to large extent from studying constitutional and legal matters, leaving such topics behind as some sort of anachronistic holdover of positivistic methodology. It seems, however, that there is no way for a study of political issues to abandon questions of the structural means of power – as defined in Chapter 1 – as an important element of the *instrumentarium* of particular players on the dynamic chessboard of the European High Middle Ages. These means, including changes and redefinitions of the legal status of the province under study, were an indispensable counterpart of the *ad hoc* political and personal measures related to in the previous chapter.

4.1 *Marchia Milzania*: the status of Milsko in the structure of the Ottonian and early Salian Empire

The starting point for considerations about the formal status of Milsko as part of the Empire should be the assertion from Chapter 3 that between 1004–1007, Milsko for the first time became a territory administered by an individual appointed by the German king as *comes*, Herman I. Herman's status as a royal administrator is illustrated in several sources. The most significant of these is a charter by Henry II from January 1, 1007 (DH II, no. 124) confirming the donation by the king of three ringforts (*castella*) in Milsko along with their districts (burgwards) to the Bishopric of Meissen. The strongholds specified in this document were located directly *in comitatu Herrimanni comitis*, demonstrating that Herman's rule in Budyšin was the normal rule of a *comes* and not, as one might conclude from reading the appropriate passage in Thietmar's of Merseburg chronicle about the events of a few months before, that it was only a command to the Budyšin garrison.⁶⁹ It would not be amiss to add here that in the context of these events, Bolesław the Brave's offensives in the spring and summer of 1007 as well as the siege of Budyšin, that Count Herman was in Thietmar's of Merseburg chronicle *explicite* called by the functional designation *marchio*.⁷⁰ In the sentence in question, the chronicler does not dot the proverbial "i" in that he did not name Herman the Margrave of Budyšin or Milsko, which has prompted some researchers to doubt the link between Herman's title of *marchio* and the hillfort on the Spree. Herman's title of margrave in the context of the events of 1007 would have been anachronistic, acting in anticipation of a later state of affairs (1009) when Ekkehard's

⁶⁹ Thietmar, VI, 34 (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 314: ...*Budusin civitatem presidio Hirimanni comitis munitam socer invidus* [scil. *Bolizlavus*] *possedit*.

⁷⁰ Thietmar, VI, 34 (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 316: *Venit marchio H[erimannus] ad Magadaburg...*).

son replaced Gunzelin in Meissen (see Knothe 1874, 276, fn. 7; Jedlicki ed. 1953/2005, 343, annot. 176). It must be emphasized, however, that this hypothesis is based only on an *a priori* assumption of the principle that Herman's title of margrave could have only been received from Meissen. In reality, the most logical explanation for the relevant paragraph in Thietmar's chronicle is that Herman was a margrave where he acted as a *comes*, which was precisely in Budyšin.



Figure 4.1: Sculptures of Herman I and his wife Regilindis in the Cathedral Church in Naumburg. Source: Wikimedia Commons, photo by user Linsengericht (own work), license CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=5520294>, here reproduced under the same license.

Not only was Herman I called a *comes*, but also Milsko was named a march in one of the scarce sources. It was namely in the life of Henry II by Adalbold of Utrecht that the future Upper Lusatia appeared in the context of the events of 1002–1003 as the *marchia Milzavia*.⁷¹ This citation is unfortunately the only one where Milsko was explicitly called a march, and thus there are doubts as to its credibility⁷² – these seem, however, to be incorrect. Adalbold, a contemporary of the events, most likely knew exactly what he was writing, just like Thietmar of Merseburg calling count Herman a margrave. If any doubts could be raised about the respective passage of the *Vita s. Heinrici II Imperatoris*, these would have nothing to do with the text itself, but rather with the meaning of the term *marca* before the mid-eleventh century, which was, according to a study by Andrea Stieldorf (2012), far from precise. The same should be said about the designation *marchio*, in the beginning of the eleventh century it was generally still synonymous with the denomination *comes*. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that both the names *marchio* and *marca* were used in various sources dating from that period in relation to Milsko, which at least allows the hypothesis that this region was among the “candidates” for institutionalization as margraviates, which came up, according to Stieldorf (2012), roughly in the second half of the eleventh century.

It can be surmised that in recovering Milsko in 1031 from Mieszko II, Conrad II had great latitude when it came to the possibility of the further development of the fate of those lands. In light of the deductions presented in the previous chapter (section 3.2.1), he chose an extremely cautious solution: to return power in Budyšin to one of the Ekkehardines, but not the one who was actually in charge of the castle in Meissen. Milsko therefore gained the same status that it had enjoyed before it was acquired by Bolesław the Brave in 1007, namely that of a *comitatus* separate from Meissen. In the political sense, this status did not last long, since Ekkehard II received the Saxon Eastern March in 1034 and the March of Meissen in 1038. One could suppose, however, that despite becoming part of a larger conglomerate of lands that were the domain of Ekkehard II, Milsko (consisting of the former lands of the Milčane and *Besunzane*) retained some autonomy. This is clearly supported by the reference in the previously discussed *Annales Altahenses Maiores* concerning the division of the Ekkehardine inheritance in 1046. This shows that until the extinction of the Ekkehardine dynasty, Milsko was autonomous from the other parts of their dominion.

⁷¹ *Adalboldi vita Heinrici II. imperatoris*, c. 22, MGH SS 4, 689: *Milzaviam quoque, Saxoniae et Poloniae interiacentem marchiam, insidiis, quibus edoctus erat, suae infelicitati subicit*. According to Jerzy Nalepa (1996, 157) the name *Milzavia* should be actually read as *Milzania*. Andrea Stieldorf (2012, 173, 179–180) stressed the territorial rather than institutional meaning of the word *marchia* in the above quoted passage.

⁷² Rentschler 2012, 41, 408, 496. A different judgement was passed by Walter Schlesinger (1953, 8). See also below, sub-chapter 5.2.

In seeking the causes of this state of affairs, it is necessary to point out two circumstances. Firstly, in connection with the short-lived existence of the autonomous *comitatus* of Herman I (1005–1008) and then of Ekkehard II (1031–1034) in Budyšin, Milsko had a certain tradition of autonomy from Meissen. Secondly, the Ekkehardines, because of their kinship with the House of Dobromir and presumably some succession agreement concluded between the latter and Ekkehard I, were able to rely on a title to power in Budyšin that was not given by the king. It seems that this is where one should look for the key to the situation, which is reflected in the notes of the chronicler of Niederaltaich: Ekkehard II simply had to pay to preserve Milsko's autonomy even after he took the offices of Margrave of Saxon Eastern March and Meissen, since he had a better claim to this area than the others he ruled. This attitude perfectly fits in with the policy conducted by the Ekkehardines, which Hans Patze (1962, 110–124) and Gabriele Rupp (1996, 192) were entirely correct in describing as an early attempt to build different pillars of dynastic power comparable with later examples of building semi-independent territories in the political framework of the Empire. It seems, however, that in comparing the means for building territorial power utilized by the Ekkehardines, these authors underestimated the importance of dynastic politics for this family (cf. Ludat 1971, 25–27, 31–32, *passim*).

To justify the claim that Ekkehard II could have boasted particularly strong rights to Milsko, one more argument could be mentioned that thus far has not been taken into account in the scholarship. I am speaking here of the fate of the castle districts in the eastern part of Upper Lusatia – Niedów and Dolgowitz (with its center in the hillfort upon the Rotstein Mountain) – which at some undetermined time after 1031 found themselves in the possession of the Bishop of Meissen. Despite the widespread – and erroneous (cf. below, section 5.4.1) – identification of Dolgowitz with *Ostrusna* (the latter being mentioned in the 1007 charter of Henry II: MGH DH II, no. 124), the gifting of these burgwards to the Bishop of Meissen did not have anything in common with the donation made by Henry II in 1007 (see more on that topic below, in section 5.4.1.). This event was rather associated with the reign of Conrad II or Henry III, when whole burgwards were still bequeathed to the Bishopric of Meissen (MGH DH III, nos. 59, 156). Henry IV was already limited to transmitting at most several *mansi* or several settlements to this church institution (cf. CDS 2–1, no. 28; MGH DH IV, nos. 80, 212, 227, 246, 410). It is thus characteristic that insofar as Henry II's donations in Milsko and Henry III's outside Milsko were confirmed by documents issued by the chancelleries of these rulers, the slightest trace of a diploma from Conrad II or Henry III, even in the form of a description or register, that would have transferred the ringforts in Niedów and on Rotstein Mountain along with their pertinences to the Bishop of Meissen is not known.

The lack of royal documents, despite the fact that the Meissen archives are not the worst preserved, concerning Niedów and Dolgowitz, or even forgeries replacing them, makes it more puzzling that probably either immediately upon the transfer of these two former burgwards to the bishopric, or just afterwards, there likely was

a change of borders for these domains (see below, sub-chapters 5.4 and 5.6). The Bishop of Meissen thus would have had every reason to procure a royal confirmation of the gift and its territorial reach. Since he did not do so, it should be inferred that he simply did not need royal ratification for either (the gift) or both (the gift and the border changes) of the legal acts on the basis of which the burgwards of Niedów and Dolgowitz came into the possession of the bishopric. In other words, the competent instance to transfer ownership of these two (former) ringfort districts was probably not the king, but the margrave.

As Eastern Upper Lusatia was probably to large extent depopulated after 1015 and the only power that could lead the process of resettlement of this area was Margrave Ekkehard, it is quite probable that he received *carte blanche* from the kings Conrad II and Henry III. After all, Ekkehard was even allowed to transfer the Bishopric of Zeitz into his allodial possession in Naumburg, an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of Germany (cf. Schlesinger 1962, 92–95; Wolfram 2006, 216–217; Boshof 2008, 71). It seems possible, therefore, that he also could have transformed Eastern Upper Lusatia into his allodial holdings with the full acceptance of the Salian kings (more on that topic: below, sub-chapter 5.6). After all, a very similar practice, turning benefices into allods, was a normal way of displaying grace to faithful subjects still under the Liudolfings (cf. Althoff 2005, 232); a model example of such a practice was no one else but Ekkehard I, father of Ekkehard II (cf. Thietmar V 7, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 228–229; cf. Schlesinger 1953, 19–20).

4.2 The status of Milsko in the years 1046–1081: from a separate *marca* to a distant pertinence of other *comitatus*

The death of Ekkehard II and the transfer of his march to other *comites* brought about a change in the status of Milsko. From a territory perceived as an autonomous component of a conglomerate of estates and entitlements of the Ekkehardines, this country became a “pertinence”, but not, as commonly assumed, of the March of Meissen, but of the Saxon Eastern March (cf. above, section 3.2.2). The status of Milsko should be interpreted similarly in the period when it constituted a part of the March of Meissen under Egbert II as its legal (1068–1076) and *de facto* (1076–1081) governor. One could say, therefore, that Milsko lost the status of a separate territory designated as a march during this very time, when other structures of this type solidified and started the path towards institutionalization (cf. Stieldorf 2012, 151–154, *passim*).

As with the Ekkehardine era, under the rule of successive margraves up to 1071 one thing did not change – the chronic lack of mention of Milsko in royal documents. In light of this, the situation in Milsko most likely was quite similar to the state of affairs known from neighboring Lower Lusatia. At the same time, there is no lack of diplomas from the times of Conrad II, Henry III and Henry IV for different laypeople and Church institutions in other areas administered by these *comites* but located to

the west of Milsko and Lusatia. This situation applies equally to the times of Ekkehard II (cf. working overview of sources: Patze 1962, 110–111; Rentschler 2012, 620–623), as well as for the periods when Dedi II ruled (cf. Rentschler 2012, 583–586) and Egbert II (cf. Rentschler 2012, 607–612). This strange contrast between Milsko and Lusatia, and the lands located further to the west leads one to surmise that both of these frontier lands were considered to be special domains by the *comites* governing them, where their power was, in principle, limited to a lesser extent by monarchical interference than elsewhere, which goes in line with the common assumption of historiography that the position of margraves was generally better than of other counts (cf. Köttschke 1920/1961, 78; Sprandel 1994, 135–136, 145). This conclusion would correspond perfectly with the border situation of the two lands, requiring a stronger concentration of power in the hands of the counts ruling them.⁷³

Respecting the margraves' special powers did not contradict with the monarchs' building of local bases for their power, particularly in 1046 when the extinction of the Ekkehardines made the German King Henry III the sole owner of Milsko. The evidence for their position is the previously-mentioned document by Henry IV of December 11, 1071 regarding the part of the benefice confiscated from Ozer (MGH DH IV, no. 246). On the one hand, it confirmed that this knight held the property in question from the hand of the king, not the margrave; on the other hand, however, it clearly indicates that it was situated *in comitatu Eggeberti marchionis*. It thus seems that in 1046, Henry III had not neglected to convert the part of Ekkehard II's bequest into a royal demesne, but at the same time dispensed it as a benefice to the knights, which was a typical practice at that time (cf. Heusinger 1922, 104). Simultaneously, however, the monarch did not exempt his holdings, but left the margraves with a superior range of power over them – this is at least how the phrase *in comitatu* should be interpreted (cf. Heusinger 1922, 106; Schlesinger 1953, 24, fn. 3; see also comments of von Salza 2013, 88–89, without, however, relation to DH IV, no. 246). This presumably did not extend to judicial power, whether over the population (over whom jurisdiction was probably wielded by the beneficiaries) or over the knights having benefices (which they received directly from the king). Thus, for the parts of Upper Lusatia belonging to the royal demesne, the designation *comitatus* meant some kind of military and/or economic prerogative for the margrave, resulting from his obligations as a *comes* of a frontier territory. By creating this rather complicated, but for medieval social relations typical, entwining of competences, the king maintained elements of control over the territory, without creating too-large a power break vis-à-vis margravial rule in a border region.

73 An opposite thesis, that Milsko (and the land of Nižane) as a whole was treated as a special dominion of the kings, was proposed by Wather Schlesinger (1941, 243). This concept, however, was based only upon the mention of *Milza* and *Nisana* in the Registry of Royal Table Estates (Königliche Tafelgüterverzeichnis), which, as later research has shown, should not be understood literally (cf. Kobuch 1996, with further ref.).

4.3 The question of the legal status of Milsko 1081–1126

The transfer of Milsko to Vratislav II by Henry IV apparently changed little in the legal status of this country; if so, it was to its advantage. Although it was no longer administered by a royal *comes*, it nevertheless came into hands of a neighboring ruler bearing the hereditary title of duke. In practice, however, in Vratislav's realm Milsko became a distant province located beyond the mountains. It appears that the marriage of Judith to Wiprecht certainly was for the Duke of Bohemia an excellent occasion to rid himself of an inconvenient acquisition and both contracting parties, the apparently generous father-in-law and the son-in-law trying to establish himself, struck a good deal. In Wiprecht's dominion, the position of Milsko underwent a twofold change. On one hand, the new possessor of Milsko was neither a count nor a duke in 1084. On the other hand, however, Budyšin became the residence of Princess Judith, which to a certain extent must have distinguished this castle within the holdings of the Lord of Groitzsch.

The disconnection of Milsko from the March of Meissen and its subsequent transfer first to Vratislav II by Henry IV and then by the former to Wiprecht II makes one wonder what exactly the formal status of this area was after 1081. The question of the legal framework, in which Milsko was held by subsequent landlords between 1081–1126, presents significantly greater difficulties than the narrative history of this period, but, as I attempt to demonstrate in this sub-chapter, this problem can be unraveled by combining the information from the available source material. The question what the legal status of Milsko after 1081 was is a reasonable one, as after its separation from the March of Meissen, Milsko and the land of Nižane, with, one would assume, the approval of Egbert II and the Saxon nobles, were at the full disposal of the emperor, who therefore could give them to Vratislav on terms that could only be considered appropriate.

The tradition written down in the family foundation of the Groitzsch family, the Pegau monastery, displays the course of events as if the claims of Wiprecht II to Upper Lusatia and the land of Nižane were from the very beginning of allodial and hereditary nature. According to the *Annales Pegavienses*, Vratislav II dealt with his newly-obtained holdings as with his allodial properties, since he passed them on to Wiprecht as part of his daughter Judith's dowry.⁷⁴ Furthermore, in the notes of the *Annales Pegavienses* reporting on the death of Princess Judith, her seat of Budyšin

⁷⁴ See *Annales Pegavienses*, MGG SS 16, 241: *Provinciae vero illius partem quam rex in dotem filiae suae delegaverat, accipere recusavit, sed extra hanc pagos duos, Nisen scilicet et Budesin, pro hac exidens impetravit*. G. E. Schrage (2004a, 59–60) erroneously called those properties a *Morgengabe* (i.e. a part of the dowry); in the Polish translation of the same book chapter (by Marek Słoń), however, the right noun was used (*posag*): Schrage 2007, 74.

was explicitly designated at the *patrimonium* of the deceased.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, even these rather strong statements by the chronicler of Pegau are not clear enough to resolve the issue of the legal status of Milsko and the land of Nižane under the rule of Vratislav II and later Wiprecht II because of divergent statements in other sources; in fact, it was normal at that time that terminology of different sources followed different patterns in describing the same legal act (cf. here e.g. Ziegler 2011, 484, fn. 3765, about Rochlitz). Furthermore, both the political constellation of 1081, in which Henry IV sought to reconcile the warring parties by dividing the area of the March of Meissen in a way that would satisfy all concerned, as well as the paucity of sources allow various interpretations of the legal status of Milsko and the land of Nižane between 1081 and 1112. In order to determine which of them is the most likely, it might be useful to begin by eliminating the least justifiable.

Without any major problems, one can rule out the possibility that a new *comitatus* or marches were formed as a result of the separation of Milsko and the land of Nižane from the March of Meissen. Although it seems that such a step would be logical, since these lands were compensation for the two marches originally entrusted to Vratislav and then given back to the young pretenders (Henry of Eilenburg and Egbert II), there is not a single trace in the sources that the king created an institution of this type. In fact, Wiprecht of Groitzsch bore the title of count only from 1106 and this was certainly not connected with either Milsko or with the land of Nižane. Further attention should be devoted to the concepts articulated by various scholars whose common denominator is that, apart from the rights of Wiprecht II of Groitzsch to the land of Nižane and to Milsko obtained through his marriage to Judith, the right of the Přemyslids to these lands existed the entire time between 1084–1135.

Unfortunately, the majority of scholars relying on this assumption have not even tried to define the legal framework that would have made it possible for Wiprecht to possess both regions and the Přemyslids to maintain a range of rights to them. Only Carl Gautsch (1880, 13–14) presented a rather explicit statement that Judith's husband Wiprecht II of Groitzsch was likely entitled to dispose of her dower (*Leibgedinge*), which included the possession of and reaping the benefits (ger. *Niessbrauch*, lat. *ususfructus*) from Milsko and the land of Nižane, but the right of ownership to both territories remained with the Přemyslids. This interesting concept is, however, based on a series of mistakes. From the notes of the *Annales Pegavienses* it is known that Milsko and the land of Nižane were parts of Judith's dowry (*Mitgift*). Thus, one cannot see the reasons for which, as cited by the author, the lifelong dower for Judith would have been set up in her dowry and not, as was practiced in Saxon law (cf. Sydow 1828, 253–357, 284; Schröder 1874, 350), in the property or at least in a benefice of her

⁷⁵ See *Annales Pegavienses* s.a. 1109, MGG SS 16, 248: *Domna enim Juditha comitissa, [...] in suo patrimonio Budissin dicto 16. Kal. Ianuarii viam universae carnis ingreditur.*

husband.⁷⁶ It is also not known why the Přemyslids would have retained the title to ownership, and not only the claim for its eventual recovery (*Beispruchrecht*, cf. Ebel 2004, 488), to the lands transferred to Judith in her dowry. Finally, Gautsch did not explain why Wiprecht II would have retained the right to dispose of his wife's dowry after her death, since their sons, who were the closest descendants of the deceased, were living and of age. Further, even in case of a lack of descendants legally capable of taking over the possessions belonging to their mother's dowry, it was certainly not the husband who was entitled to alienate them but the further persons in the order of inheritance: the wife's consanguinity (cf. Sydow 1828, 72–73; Meuten 2000, 129, *passim*; Ebel 2004, 487–488; Hagemann 2007, col. 1372).

Attempts can also be made to justify the idea of the endurance of the sovereign rights of the Přemyslids after 1084 on the basis of beneficial law, namely accepting that Milsko and the land of Nižane came into Wiprecht's holdings as a result of him being subinfeudated by his father-in-law. This idea was *explicite* expressed by František Palacký (1836, 412), Leo Bönhoff (1915, 203) and Alexander Blöthner (2010, 35, fn. 72). The reasoning of Herbert Helbig (1955, 219–220; see also Helbig 1956, 60) went in the same direction, stating that after the extinction of the lordly family in Groitzsch, the castle of Dohna ended up in the hands of the Přemyslids “as a vacated Bohemian fief” (*als erledigtes Lehen von Böhmen*). The comments of Jan Kapras (1935, 6), Manfred Kobuch (1996, 331–332), Lenka Bobková (1997, 33), Karlheinz Blaschke (2000/2003, 141–142) and Gertraud Eva Schrage (2004a, 60) can also be interpreted in a similar vein, but they did not directly state that beneficial relations existed between Vratislav and his successors and Wiprecht and his descendants.⁷⁷ The idea that the land of Nižane and Milsko were transferred to Wiprecht II of Groitzsch in 1084 *en route* to his subinfeudation has been utilized by scholars to aid in explaining why, during the lifetimes of Wiprecht and his son Henry, successive Přemyslids (Vratislav II, Vladislav I and Soběslav I) ruled certain fortifications in these two countries (Gvozdec: 1087, 1088; Dohna: 1121, 1126; Yzhorelik/Görlitz: 1126, 1131) and possessed some incomes here. What is more, after the extinction of the family of the Lords of Groitzsch, it was Soběslav I who took over their rule. The cornerstone of the entire concept of the subinfeudation of Wiprecht by Vratislav is the last of the arguments to cite: since it was Duke Soběslav who received investiture in Milsko and the land of Nižane in 1136, the simplest explanation of this fact is assuming that this event took

⁷⁶ That it was the Saxon law that was to be in operation in this case may be taken for granted because of the Saxon origin of Wiprecht (the question of tribal consuetudinal laws as applied to the persons belonging to the *Herrenstand*, see Schulze 1871, 18–27. Usage of the Saxon law in the case of Wiprecht was the more obvious, as he was not as highborn as the persons related to in the book of Schulze).

⁷⁷ Especially G.E. Schrage (2001, 60) suggested a more individual, informal basis for the particular position of Vratislav; cf. Novotný 1913, 265–266; Hentschel 1998, 60, 61–62.

place in the wake of the reversion of Wiprecht's fief resulting from the lack of male heirs and its automatic return to the hands of the feudal lord (*Heimfall*).

This argument seems to be a strong one, but upon closer reflection it appears off the mark. Despite the small number of sources illuminating the relevant events, we have at our disposal two notes, from a chronicler and an annalist, of Bohemian provenance which clearly show that in the 1120s and 1130s King Lothair III, Duke Soběslav of Bohemia and Count Henry of Groitzsch were looking for legal foundations that would justify the parts of Henry's inheritance going to the Přemyslids (cf. here Thieme 2001, 157, fn. 47). In 1128, on the occasion of the baptism of Soběslav's son, whose godfather was Lothair III, Henry of Groitzsch bequeathed the newly-christened Přemyslid *totum pheodum suum* upon his death.⁷⁸ Thus, there is no doubt that this designation covers mainly, if not exclusively, the land of Nižane and Milsko (cf. Knothe 1874, 282–283; Kobuch 1996, 332). Significantly, the Canon of Vyšehrad, from whose chronicles we learn of this event, did not omit to write down that this became *astantibus primatibus Saxonum*, indicating an attempt at an additional ratification of this gift by gaining an assent from the Saxon nobles. There is no information about an appeal by Emperor Lothair for the consent of the nobles in relation to the events of 1136, when the two territories under consideration were not taken over by Soběslav's son (who had died in the meantime), but by the Bohemian duke himself as attested to by the note in the Annals of the Hradiště-Opatovice monasteries, based on the personal bequest of Henry of Groitzsch.⁷⁹ It thus seems that the transfer of power in Milsko and the land of Nižane to Soběslav did not take place automatically – and that would be in the case of the subinfeudation of Wiprecht in 1084 – but on the basis of special decisions by the emperor with the consent of the last of the Lords of Groitzsch and of the Saxon nobles.

When discussing the issue of the legal situation of Milsko and the land of Nižane in 1135–1136, it is one cannot help but notice that its significance for the events from before 1112 is slight. The year 1112 is thus undoubtedly a systemic turning point in the history of the land of Nižane and likely also of Milsko. The appearance of a royal burgrave in Dohna in 1113 is convincing evidence of this. This indicates that after reclaiming these lands from Wiprecht, King Henry V did not give them in their entirety to Hoyer of Mansfeld, but rather took care to separate a certain part of them along with a bundle of judicial and fiscal competences for his direct use. Significantly, the activity of the Přemyslids between 1117 (the earliest date for the return of both

⁷⁸ FRB II, 205: *Anno dominice incarnationis 1128 Lotarius rex in die paschae levavit de fonte baptismatis filium ducis Sobieslai, factique sunt intimi amici. Cui parvulo post confirmationem, filius Wigberti in exitu vitae suae promisit totum pheodum suum, astantibus ibidem primatibus Saxonum.*

⁷⁹ FRB 2, 395: *Heinricus marchio, filius Wiprachti, mortalibus exutus ritibus viam universae carnis est ingressus. Hic quia neminem de propinquitate sua superstitem habuit, predia ad se pertinentia Sobezlau, duci Boemico, suisque posteris dedit, hereditario iure in sempiternum possidenda.*

lands to Wiprecht) and 1136 (the likely date of the release of these territories in fief to Soběslav) is evident only in Dohna, i.e. clearly a royal estate, and in Görlitz, the place where a royal dominion existed both earlier and later. Therefore, no mention of the activities of the Přemyslids north of the Sudetes and Ore Mountains affecting the situation after 1112 can contribute to clarifying the issue of the formal status of the land of Nižane and Milsko before that year as, firstly, none of them concern the areas which likely were restored to the direct possession of Wiprecht and, secondly, the existence of some powers for the Přemyslids after 1112 does not necessarily imply that they existed beforehand.

Accordingly, closer attention should be paid only to arguments for the existence of some sovereign rights for the Přemyslids in the area of Nižane and Milsko enumerated by Gertraud Eva Schrage (2004a) as concerning the situation from before Wiprecht II of Groitzsch gave up these lands to King Henry V in 1112. Schrage referred to two circumstances indicating the special position of Vratislav II in the region (without defining it, however, as the result of feudal authority of the Přemyslid over Wiprecht's lands): the building of the ringfort of *Gvozdec* upon the Elbe by Vratislav II in 1087 (Cosmas II 39, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2, 141) and 1088 (Cosmas II 40, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2, 144), as well as his giving of tithes of honey and two villages near Budyšin to the canonical chapter in Vyšehrad (CDB 1, no. 387). The first of these arguments has little power because it does not imply in any way the existence of institutionalized powers for Vratislav in the land of Nižane. Acting in a situation of war and, with royal approval, in the land being possessed by his son-in-law, the Duke of Bohemia undoubtedly felt at home by the Elbe even if he was not, in the legal sense, at home. The second argument cited by the scholar from Leipzig, and earlier by Václav Novotný (1913, 275, fn. 2, beginning on the previous page), is completely off the mark. In reality, the chapter in Vyšehrad had some revenues in Milsko, but they certainly did not come from a grant by Vratislav II. These revenues were not present either in the 1130 privilege for the Vyšehrad chapter (CDB 1, no. 111) or even in the oldest dispatch of the alleged foundation document, the so-called A version from the mid-twelfth century (on the internal "stratigraphy" of the charter, see the editor's commentar in CDB and Nový 1991, 134–136). Moreover, the villages Meuselwitz and Kubschütz were absent even in the younger versions of the charter from the end of the twelfth century (B1–B2). Thus, it appears that the giver of the revenues from Upper Lusatia to the canons in Vyšehrad was not Vratislav II, but rather his grandson Vladislav II and the donation of the two villages was of much younger date.

Having critically discussed the details of the reasoning that could speak to the idea of the subinfeudation of Wiprecht II by Vratislav in 1084, it is worth noting a fundamental circumstance that demands rejection of this idea as not credible. In 1112, under the pressure of blackmail on the part of Henry V, Wiprecht simply handed over both of these lands. This could not have been done solely on the basis of his personal decision; if he had possessed them as a benefice from the Duke of Bohemia, it would have been the alienation of a fief, which was unacceptable without the consent of the

seigneur (cf. Meister 1901/2011, 88; Ganshof 1996, 145). Such a step directly implies the elimination of the Přemyslids' entitlement in 1112. If we accept that Wiprecht received these lands from Vratislav, it should consequently be accepted that along with the Lord of Groitzsch giving up both of these lands to the emperor in 1112, any possible entitlement of the Přemyslids must have been eliminated (regardless of exactly how); afterwards, along with their return to Wiprecht, a restitution of the sovereign rights of the Bohemian dukes would also have taken place (such course of events seems to be accepted by Helbig 1955, 219). In the political constellation of the time, where Wiprecht and his brother-in-law Bořivoj II fell out of favor and his rival Vladislav I was dependent on the goodwill of the emperor, the elimination of the Přemyslids' claims in 1112 cannot easily be ruled out. It is also not difficult to consider the possibility for their restoration along with the return of the properties once given up by and confiscated from Wiprecht. This does not, however, change the fact the sources are silent on both of these events. From the positive data that we have at our disposal, i.e. the pertinent fragments of the *Annales Pegavienses*, it is suggested that it was Wiprecht II in 1112 who was in possession of both of the regions in question and was competent to give them up to the emperor. However, the question remains: by what rights?

Because of the elimination of more complicated solutions positing the survival of some special rights for the Přemyslids to the land of Nižane and to Milsko after 1084, the two most straightforward possibilities should be noted, namely that these countries were possessed by the House of Groitzsch as an allodium or as a benefice not from the Přemyslids, but directly from the emperor. In the first case, one would have to assume that Vratislav had the same rights to them before 1084 as Wiprecht after that date. In other words, in 1081, after their separation from the March of Meissen, both lands were passed to the allodial ownership of the Duke of Bohemia (cf. here Novotný 1913, 275, fn. 2, beginning on the previous page, 600, 638; Wadle 1969, 40, 241–242). In the second case, however, one would have to assume that Vratislav, holding the territory as a benefice, arranged in 1084 with Emperor Henry IV for a consensus not for their subinfeudation, but rather substitution, i.e. their assumption by another vassal, Wiprecht II of Groitzsch (cf. e.g. Walther 1989b, 99). None of these assumptions contradict the general situation in the early 1080's. Both possibilities also fit in well in the context of the matrimonial contract: Whether these properties were allodial or there was a substitution of fiefs, Wiprecht would possess Milsko and the land of Nižane with the same rights as earlier Vratislav (the result would be, therefore, the opposite of what would happen in the case of Wiprecht's subinfeudation by Vratislav).

Working out by what rights Wiprecht II possessed Milsko after 1084 will certainly not be aided by the fragments in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague (II, 39) about the building by Vratislav of the ringfort of *Gvozdec* in 1087 (in the vicinity of Niederwartha, cf. Billig 1989, 161; Schrage 2004a, 60–61; Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 67), in which the chronicler intimates that Vratislav received *Zribiam*, in this specific case, meaning

the land of Nižane, *in perpetuum*.⁸⁰ Cosmas was writing these words during the time that his patron, Vladislav I, conclusively ruled at least part of that area: the castle in Dohna, repairs for which were commissioned by him in 1121.⁸¹ In relation to this, the chronicle's mentioning a legal title to these lands – even in passing – was most on the spot. This does not change the fact, however, that the term *in perpetuum* can fit both ownership due to inheritance law as an allodium as well as a hereditary benefice (cf. Schrage 2004a, 59; in the same sense in the Polish translation: Schrage 2007, 73).

The question of Vratislav and then Wiprecht II possessing Milsko and the land of Nižane as an allodium or benefice has in general not been thoroughly considered up to this point by historians and legal historians. This is because it is quite commonly accepted that the settlement of this matter was brought about by the document of Henry IV of May 17, 1091 (MGH DH IV, no. 420), which confirms the giving by this ruler of six villages in both of the territories in question to the Bishopric of Meissen, represented by its Ordinary, Benno (cf. Knothe 1874, 280–281, fn. 14; Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 79). Most interpreters of the document, therefore, have collectively accepted that if the ownership rights to these villages remained with the king, the lands in question (*pagi*) could not have been the allodial property of another person. This claim is by all means true, but the problem is that the document upon which it is based is a clear forgery drawn up in Meissen in the twelfth century (cf. the editors' commentary in MGH DH IV, nos. 275 and 420. See also Ludwig 2008, 17–18, 246–248). At the same time, this diploma is so brief that it is difficult to “dissect” from its contents any kind of notes from the eleventh century that could have become the basis for preparing this falsified charter. Even presuming the existence of a hypothetical basis text that could be used to write this document, it would, however, not have contributed much to the merits of the matter. The very existence of some notes from a contemporary, alleged *actum* would not result, after all, in identifying the actual donor. Meanwhile, the forgeries from Meissen were made precisely in order to attribute to Henry IV a donation from someone else. Another purported document from this ruler for the Bishopric of Meissen from the hand of this same forger (MGH DH IV, no. 275) is especially instructive: it was needed in order to legalize a donation that was in reality made by the anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden (see CDS 2–1, no. 34). From the perspective of the forger, the identity of the true benefactor of the bishopric, who gave it the six villages in the alleged 1091 document, was not particularly important; what was important was the creation of a successful forgery purportedly issued by the highest laic authority in Christendom – the Roman emperor.

The fact that the document dated May 17, 1091, concerning Upper Lusatia, is an egregious forgery significantly reduces the power of this source as an argument in the

⁸⁰ Cosmas, II, 39 (MGH SS NS 2, 141: *Rex Wratislaus, collecto exercitu, intrat Zribiam, quam olim imperator Heinricus in perpetuum sibi habendam tradiderat...*).

⁸¹ Cosmas, III, 47 (MGH SS NS 2, 220: *Eodem anno dux Wladislaus reedificavit oppidum Donin...*).

discussion of the legal status of Milsko and the land of Nižane after 1081 (1084), but does not reduce it to zero by any means. It should be noted that the Meissen forgeries likely came about during the pontificate of Bishop Godebold (1122–1140) (cf. Ludwig 2008, 20–21), thus not very long after the supposed issue date of the charter of Henry IV regarding the bishop's villages in Milsko and the land of Nižane. The short period that elapsed from the date given to the document by the forger and the time of its actual preparation also confirms the statement of the editor of this diploma in the series *MGH Diplomata* that the forger would have had a fairly good idea about the itinerary of Henry IV in the early 1090s. It is thus entirely possible that the background for forging this diploma was the intensified royal rule in the region after 1112, which could have resulted in the strengthening of control over the legal titles to various ecclesiastical holdings. Assuming that the forgeries commissioned by the Bishop of Meissen using the name of Henry IV were created during the pontificate of Bishop Godebold, probably during the early period of it, it should also be accepted that their contents could not have included overly excessive distortions. This reservation is perhaps less relevant with regards to the forgeries dating from the 1070s, as in the 1120s–1140s one could count on the events of a half-century before being remembered only by a small group of decrepit elders. However, the context of a legal action which took place in the 1090s undoubtedly would be remembered by a certain group of people who were still active about thirty years later. Therefore, although the alleged document of May 17, 1091 is obviously falsified, it really settles the question of the legal status of Milsko and the land of Nižane in favor of the hypothesis that Wiprecht II received them as a benefice from the emperor (cf. here the remarks of: Knothe 1874, 280–281, fn. 14; Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 79).

One can even theoretically consider the possibility that only part of these lands, including Budyšin, were possessed first by Vratislav, and then by Wiprecht as allodia (cf. here Kobuch 1996, 331–332; Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 78–79), while other parts, probably those to which the king claimed special rights for himself, would have been held as a benefice or would have even remained separately governed under the direct supervision of the kings (cf. here Thieme 2001, 156–157, fn. 45, 48). The advantage of this hypothesis is the possibility of reconciling the traces dealing with both lands as being fully owned by Vratislav (transferring them in his daughter's dowry in 1084) as well as the clear formulation in the *Annales Pegavienses* that Budyšin was Judith's *patrimonium* with the content of the 1091 document in which its alleged issuer, Henry IV, was mentioned as the sole owner of the villages in the burghwards of Wosice and Seitschen. The main drawback of the thesis that Milsko and the land of Nižane had already been divided into parts before 1112 – those that successive holders administered as an allodial property as well as those to which the king maintained ownership rights – is the lack of any positive evidence of this dichotomy. The first trace in the sources of the king's direct rule of some holdings in the land of Nižane comes only from 1113 and that is the mention of the imperial burgrave in Dohna in the chronicle of Cosmas of Prague (III, 39) already discussed above. Moreover, against

Wiprecht II's ownership of even part of Milsko or the land of Nižane as an allodium stands a certain, important circumstance. It was in 1112, as far as we know, that it was only Wiprecht himself who relinquished hold of both of these territories. He could not have done this if they were an allodial possession because in that case it would not have been he who held ownership rights to both lands after the death of Judith (1108), but rather his sons, Wiprecht III and Henry, who would have been of-age at the time (cf. Sydow 1828, 72–73; Meuten 2000, 129, *passim*; Ebel 2004, 487–488; Hagemann 2007, col. 1372). However, this situation would in no way have interfered with the interpretation that Wiprecht held Milsko and the land of Nižane as a benefice received from Henry IV and renewed by Henry V also after the death of Judith.

Summarizing the above arguments, it should be concluded that in all likelihood Vratislav II was granted both of the lands in question as a benefice from the emperor in 1081, after which he gave them up to Wiprecht in 1084 not in the course of subinfeudation but rather of substitution, allowing for him to step into his place as the possessor of these lands, quite certainly with the acceptance of king Henry IV. This legal status likely remained until 1112, when Wiprecht II, wanting to free his son, Wiprecht III, from imperial captivity, gave up both benefices.

The question of the status of Milsko after 1112 does not present many difficulties in determining the legal character wielded for this territory by Vratislav and Wiprecht between 1081–1112. The *Annales Pegavienses* state unequivocally that Hoyer of Mansfeld possessed Milsko and the land of Nižane as a benefice.⁸² There is also no reason to assume that the restoration of these lands to Wiprecht II brought about a change in the legal basis for possessing them, as probably none of the parties involved would have been really interested in such a change.

4.4 Various parties, diverging strategies (1126–1156)

The course of political events presented in sub-chapter 3.4 leaves no doubt that the tridecennium 1126–1156 was one of the most turbulent periods in the history of Upper Lusatia, in which the rulers of the land and policies of particular monarchs towards the province changed as frequently and rapidly as never before. From the viewpoint of this chapter, it seems especially interesting that for the first time the structural *instrumentarium*, including, i.a., the creation of new administrative units and devolution of royal prerogatives, proved at least as important as the simple but effective “direct” (immediate) means of governance.

⁸² MGH SS 16, 251: *Anno 1112. Wichbertus senior compertis his quae acciderant, graviter doluit, nulloque alio pacto filium redimere potuit, donec urbem Liznich et pagos Nisen et Butdessin una cum urbe Morunge regi tradidit; quae omnia statim Hogero comiti de Manesfelt, sibi familiarissimo, in beneficium rex concessit.*

One of the effects of the structural reforms undertaken in the abovementioned period was to last surprisingly long: the existence of two distinct units of regional governance (lands of Budyšin and Zagozd) within the former land of Milsko. Although it was probably only from 1126 (or a few years earlier: see section 3.3.3 above) until 1136 or rather 1139 (cf. above, section 3.4.2) that the lands on the Nysa were ruled by someone other than the “native” area of Milsko in the Spree River Valley, after the re-unification of both parts of the future Upper Lusatia in the hands of Margrave Conrad of Wettin the eastern part of the country was still seen as a territory separate from the land of Budyšin. This situation lasted at least until the 1220s; the last statement on the individuality of the central-western (land of Budyšin) and eastern (Zagozd) parts of Upper Lusatia is the renowned Upper Lusatian Border Charter of 1241 (CDB 4/1, no. 4), reflecting the state of affairs from around 1223–1228 (see Jecht 1919, 68–73; Huth 1981, 137–138; cf. recently Dannenberg 2009b, 63, fn. 22).

Attempts of Soběslav I to strengthen his power in Upper Lusatia with structural means did not last very long, as the rule of the Přemyslids in Upper Lusatia ended a few years after his death. Both the special position of Soběslav I in Eastern Upper Lusatia and the loss of it by his successor, Vladislav II, were the effects of diverging strategies of Kings Lothair III and Conrad III towards this province. Nevertheless, it may be important to study these issues in order to learn what strategies were in use and available to the Duke of Bohemia (cf. below, section 4.4.1). Another question worthy of closer inspection would be the short “return of the king” into the sphere of practical governance in Upper Lusatia during the reigns of Conrad III and Frederick I Barbarossa until 1157, which is attested i.a. by the mention of *Budesin* and *Milza* in the Registry of Royal Table Estates (ger. *Königliche Tafelgüterverzeichnis*) and, last but not least, by the creation of the *Burggrafschaft* in Budyšin (cf. below, section 4.4.2). All the efforts by Conrad III and Frederick I to gain structural control over a distant province were, however, finally crushed by the latter in 1157, which may be interpreted as a turn away from structural towards immediate means of rule, similar to the policies undertaken by Henry IV or Lothair III.

4.4.1 Soběslav I's advance under Lothair III: from *pagus Isgorelik* to the *cura Sirbiae*

A very interesting issue underestimated in the discourse to date is the question of the scope of powers that the Dukes of Bohemia wielded over Eastern Upper Lusatia between 1126–1142. Despite the small number of sources illuminating this problem, one can find in them several factors supporting the proposition that at least the degree of Soběslav I's power upon the Nysa was significant, probably going beyond the usual privileges of a beneficent holding local royal estates.

The initial inference point in this matter must be the notes in the Chronicle of the Canon of Vyšehrad regarding the restoration of the hillfort **Zgořelec* (Görlitz) on the Nysa by Soběslav I in 1126 and 1131. In reinforcing the stronghold, Soběslav

evidently was carrying out work belonging to the basic stock of *regalia*, i.e. activities and powers reserved to the monarch (on the notion of the *regalia*, see Fried 1973). The *regalia* catalogue was of course to some extent only a list of theoretical entitlements, as in the period of its creation in the second half of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries many rights defined as royal were already possessed by the laic and clerical nobility. However, as the concept of *regalia* became more and more widespread, successive rulers worked assiduously on their organized disposition by third parties, so the theory of a royal monopoly in certain areas was transformed in reality through certain legal constructions (giving *regalia* in fief, demanding suitable payments and benefits for the exercise of rights recognized as being reserved for the king, etc.). With regard to Eastern Upper Lusatia, no extraordinary measures were necessary in this era because this area was the property of the monarch. Even more significant is the fact that it was here on the Nysa, in the middle of the royal holdings, that Soběslav built his hillfort. Moreover, Soběslav probably felt empowered not only to build fortifications in the royal demesne, but also to dispose of the workpower of local inhabitants, immunizing them from the duty of building castles. Such a conclusion may be drawn from the disposition of a charter of Conrad III issued in 1144 (MGH DK III, no. 119), in which the king settled the duties of the peasants on episcopal holdings in the lands of Nižane, Milsko and Zagozd (i.e., Eastern Upper Lusatia) towards the new ruler of those lands, Margrave Conrad I the Great of Wettin. According to this diploma, the episcopal subjects in Zagozd, unlike their fellows around Budyšin, did not have to participate in the building of margravian castles. Such a difference could have occurred only when the central-western (Budyšin) and eastern (Zagozd) parts of Upper Lusatia were ruled separately, i.e. in the years 1126–1139. It seems, therefore, that the range of delegations Lothair III gave to the Duke of Bohemia in the areas of fortification and defense of the land was very wide.

Some evidence suggests that this delegation could have included not only fortification *regale*, but also the possibility of transferring the holdings entrusted to Soběslav to other people and legal *personae*. To support such a hypothesis, one has to recall that the ringfort in Görlitz was established in the near vicinity of the holdings that were received by the bishopric, or more exactly: by the cathedral chapter of Meissen in 1071. As evidenced by the note of the Canon of Vyšehrad *sub anno* 1131, under the rule of Soběslav this structure changed its name from *Drewnow* to **Zgořelec*. Ernst-Heinz Lemper (1996, 18) has suggested that this change could have had something to do with Soběslav's taking possession of episcopal goods in *villa Goreliz*. This assumption is quite likely, considering that it was only Soběslav I who created the administrative center in Görlitz, while earlier the main center of Eastern Upper Lusatia had been Jauernick, where the oldest proto-parish church had been established. One can even quite easily indicate the territory that could have been the equivalent of the property given to the bishopric by Henry IV and probably re-gained for the secular authority by Soběslav I (i.e. eight *mansi regales* in *villa Goreliz*): these would have been the settlements on the area later known as Eigensche Kreis.



Figure 4.2: The Castle Hill (*Burgberg*) in Görlitz, where *Yzcorelic* fortress was built, viewed from NE. Photo by Stanisław Fokt, 2017.

This is an area that, due to its original affiliation to the parish church in Jauernick, did not yet belong to the episcopal dominion during the rule of the Lords of Groitzsch. At the same time, it was in the first half of the thirteenth century that the affiliation of Eigensche Kreis to the bishopric was obvious and respected by all parties to the extent that the rights of the laic holders of these properties were derived from the rights of the bishops (cf. Knothe 1870, no. XIV), and the Upper Lusatian Border Charter not only does not mention the villages located *auf dem Eigen*, but also left the western border of the bishop's dominion described in protocols Ia and Ib undefined (cf. Fokt 2008 and in section 5.4.1 below) – implicitly classifying the Pliessnitz river catchment basin (i.e. generally, the later Eigensche Kreis) into the group of areas *quae dubium non generant*. This behavior by the creator of border protocols Ia and Ib demonstrates the intentions of his mandators: the subject of the description of the borders likely taken in the 1220s, which was probably – at least partially – already made in 1213 (see R. Jecht 1919, 68–73; Huth 1981, 137–138; cf. recently Dannenberg 2009b, 63, fn. 22), were *novalia* and not the holdings in old settlement areas obtained by the bishops from the German kings and the Ekkehardines (cf. Klecker 1997, 30). The only exception in this respect would be the complex associated with Prietitz (*Priszez*), a village donated to the bishopric in

1160 by Vladislav II with the consent of Frederick I Barbarossa (cf. CDB 1, no. 210; MGH DF I, No. 473). It should be noted, however, that also in this case the borders of respective territory were not uninterruptedly circumscribed but their limits within the area of old settlement left “open”. In this context, it seems understandable that Eigensche Kreis was not among the territories described *explicite* in the Eastern Upper Lusatian Border Charter, although it conclusively belonged to the Bishopric of Meissen at the beginning of the thirteenth century (cf. Knothe 1870, 3).

Most probably, from the perspective of the parties involved, this territory was not contestable because it was given to the bishopric by a member of the Přemyslid dynasty. In undermining the donation of his (albeit distant) relative Soběslav I, Přemysl Ottokar I would have risked the eternal damnation of his soul. Furthermore, if we accept the proposed hypothesis that Eigensche Kreis – or rather its original core settlement, which Joachim Huth (1962, 37–58; Huth 1963, 95–109) strenuously attempted to reconstruct – came into ecclesiastical possession in exchange for holdings in *villa Goreliz*, Přemysl Ottokar I’s attempts to undermine this donation would have jeopardized his hold over the Nysa, particularly as the Bishop of Meissen still possessed the original document of Henry IV concerning the eight royal fiefs in *villa Goreliz*. On the other hand, no charter was preserved, reflecting the loss of the possessions in Görlitz by the bishopric and the gaining of the Pliessnitz valley by this ecclesiastical institute, which suggests that it was not the king, but the Duke of Bohemia who could have carried out the transaction suggested above, as in the 1120s and 1130s the development of both laic and ecclesiastical chanceries in Bohemia and Moravia was still at a rather incipient stage (Šebánek, Dušková 1964, 54–56).

From the perspective of King Lothair III, the possible exchange of properties made by Soběslav and Bishop Godebold would not be a particular problem. The holdings in the area of what became Eigensche Kreis indeed would have ceased to be associated with the royal dominion, coming, however, into the endowment for the bishopric, whose worldly belongings were being transferred to the ordinaries, according to the Concordat of Worms, by the king. Furthermore, as a result of these changes, the royal properties in Eastern Upper Lusatia would not be depleted, on balance. Although the settlements on the Pliessnitz and Gaule likely occupied an area larger than that of the bishop’s eight royal *mansi* in *villa Goreliz*, the aggregation of the estates at the foot of the hillfort on the Nysa certainly represented a significant advantage for the current possessor of these lands (Soběslav I) as well as for his landlord (Lothair III). It is thus not difficult to note that the gaining of Eigensche Kreis, located between the Niedów dominion and the burgward of Dolgowitz, was also remarkably lucrative for the Bishopric of Meissen. Generally, such an exchange would be advantageous for all parties involved, being an example of rationalization of land use in a given area in a short period when it became subject of interest of three power centers: the king, the duke and the bishopric.



Figure 4.3: Emperor Lothair III, as painted in the *Kaiserdom Königsutter* by August von Essenwein (1831–1892) and Adolf Quensen (1851–1911). After: *Begleiter durch den Kaiserdom Königsutter*, Braunschweig 2011, p. 60. Public domain, copy obtained through Wikimedia Commons, URL <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=18382290>.

The lack of special consent by Emperor Lothair III demonstrates that Soběslav likely was entitled to complete transactions exchanging estates, although it is not known whether his powers also included unilateral alienation rather than exchange. That this could have been the case at least in relation to cash incomes may be inferred from the so-called foundation charter of the canonical chapter in Stará Boleslav (CDB 1, no. 382; most recent transcription was given by M. Bláhová 1996, 5–8). In light of one of the clauses in this document, the canons were given the right to the annual payment of six *denari* (probably from a single peasant household) from *pagus dictus Isgorelik*. The payment was called a tithe, *decimacio* (on the importance of tithes in the period under study, see Górecki 1993, 4–7, *passim*). This mention has received extreme evaluations in the historiography, from being completely accepted by Gustav Köhler (1838) to being completely negated by Hermann Knothe (1869; Knothe 1894) and Richard Jecht (1894b, 230–233). None of these extreme positions seem fair: admittedly the mention of *pagus Isgorelik* cannot have referred to the reign of Břetislav I as Köhler would have wanted, but also in no way should be rejected *a priori* only because the document containing it is a larger, formal forgery as Knothe and Jecht learned (cf. Novotný 1913, 604–605, fn. 4; Fokt 2013a, 233–234). To discover the reliability of the reference in question, one should take a closer look at the document of which this is part.

There is no doubt that it was created in the twelfth century, which has already been recognized by its publisher in the Bohemian diplomatar, Gustav Friedrich. Further research, the results of which were summarized recently by Marie Bláhová (1996, 11–12), has brought about an attempt at stratifying the contents of this interesting diploma. In light of the study conducted by Tadeusz Lalik (1971), the oldest layer of this document was its protocol, eschatocol and the beginning part of the disposition, which were written in first-person singular. Lalik defined this oldest document as Expedition A (Lalik 1971, 407–409, 412–413). All of the younger layers of the document were defined by him as Expedition B; they were written in *pluralis maiestaticus*, created most likely at the end of the eleventh century and additionally interpolated in the twelfth century (Lalik 1971, 413–414). Some of the scholars engaged in the polemics about the foundation charter of the canonical chapter in Stará Boleslav claim that one of the stages of the creation of its final form, known to us only from a late copy, could have been a charter issued by Vratisláv II (cf. Hrubý 1936, 73–79; Bistřický 1993, 133–136, *passim*). Others deny this, not neglecting the importance of the reign of Vratisláv II for the endowment of the chapter with incomes and possession and the process of creation of this important document (Fiala 1960, 24, fn. 117; Lalik 1971, 412, 413–414). For the sake of this study, however, these discussions are of secondary importance, as we do not have at our disposal an adequate basis for conclusions that would allow for detailed dissection of expedition B of the document. What is certain is that in the form known to us this redaction of the document does not follow any chronological order, as it begins with the mention of the *sex denarii* from Časláv and *pagus Isgorelik*, certainly not older than 1126, and further on brings some data that was as old or slightly younger than those included in A (e.g.

commemoration of the princess Božena, Břetislav I's mother, and the mentions of the estate of *comes* Mstíš and tithes from the slave trade in Moravia), mixed with elements that were significantly younger. The youngest of these is undoubtedly the immunity clause, which dates at earliest from the mid-twelfth century (cf. Lalik 1971, 409, 414). Particularly interesting for us here is the mentioning of tithing the amount of six *denars* from the ringfort district of Čáslav and *pagus dictus Isgorelik*,⁸³ which should be from between these two extreme dates, likely between 1126–1143, when Görlitz was for certain under the rule of the Dukes of Bohemia.

The tribute for the chapter in Stará Boleslav is, unfortunately, not reflected in sources on Eastern Upper Lusatia other than in this document. It is known, however, that the canons of Stará Boleslav really had the right to some of the incomes from tithes from the area around the ringfort of Čáslav, which were mentioned in the alleged foundation charter along with the tithe from *pagus Isgorelik*. The existence of the rights of the canons to some tithes from the area of Čáslav is confirmed by the settlement concluded on this matter between them and the inhabitants of Smilov Brod (later Deutschbrod, today Havlíčkův Brod) on June 14, 1269.⁸⁴ A document from nearly a century later (CDM 10, no. 49 from September 27, 1368) certifies that the subject of the dispute between the chapter and the residents was the payment known as *denarii fumales*, i.e. the episcopal tithe (about this sort of tithe cf. Krofta 1904, 375, fn. 1; Nový 1960). Identifying the tribute received by the canons in Stará Boleslav in *pagus Isgorelik* and the region of Čáslav as an episcopal tithe has been confirmed by sources on Moravia. In light of the alleged document of Břetislav I which mentions this *decimationem*, the canons also received similarly-determined tributes of six denars from three Moravian ringfort districts.⁸⁵ That this, like in the case of Čáslav, was a matter of episcopal tithes is attested to by the document of Bishop Robert of Olomouc for the Louka Monastery from c. 1220. In it, relevant tithes were directly defined as possession of the Bishops of Moravia and belonging to them, although the local populace believed the chapter in Stará Boleslav had the right to them.⁸⁶ It seems, however, that the legal basis of the claims by the Canons of Stará Boleslav to the tithes in question went beyond the naïve belief of the populace, since even

83 CDB 1, 382, p. 360–361: *His itaque dispositis, addidimus decimationem, quę pertinet ad urbem Cazlauae et in pago dicto Isgorelik, quae sex denariis solvitur ad sustentationem canonicorum ibidem deo militancium.*

84 CDB 5/2, 589: *Noveritis, quod cum multo tempore pro solutione decimarum episcopalium, quę in tota Chaslaiensi provincia ad honorabilem Boleslaviensem ecclesiam et ipsius ecclesie capitulum pertinent ab antiquo...*

85 CDB 1, no. 382, p. 361: *In Moravia vero de urbibus Rokiten, Znoiem, Bethow decimationem, quę sex denariis ab uno quoque solvitur.*

86 CDB II, no. 207: *...decimas ad nos spectantes de villis ad illas ecclesias pertinentibus, quę proprie sunt claustris; quas decimas vulgus credebatur spectare ad preposituram Bolezlauensem, quam multis temporibus predecessores nostri possederunt et nos possidemus.*

in the last quarter of the thirteenth century the monasteries in Louka (CDM 4, no. 318) and Dolní Kounice (CDB 5/2, nos. 801, 829) were ready to pay them hard cash for the possibility of collecting these tithes, and the dispute over the episcopal tithes in southern Moravia was only ended by the chapter in Stará Boleslav relinquishing its rights to them in 1298 (CDM 5, no. 89, p. 89).

The document certifying the cession of the rights to these tithes on the part of the chapter in Stará Boleslav leaves no doubt that this was a matter of a tithe amounting to six denars (meaning from a single farmstead), known at the time as *denarii decimales* and earlier as *vomerale*s, i.e. a ploughshare (cf. Pátrová 2008, 510–511). In all probability, the *sex denari* paid from *pagus dictus Isgorelik* should be identified as the same sort of payment. This amount is equal to a quarter of the full tithe, assigned to the bishops (cf. Krofta 1904, 25–26, fn. 1; Nový 1960, 3–5). In view of the fact that the episcopal tithe was originally allotted from the royal incomes, in the initial period of its existence the Dukes of Bohemia and Moravia considered themselves entitled to dispensing it not only to the bishops, but also to other ecclesiastical institutions. This practice continued conclusively until the time of Vladislav II (cf. Nový 1960, 2, fn. 13) and only in the thirteenth century did the bishops of Prague and Olomouc manage to enforce the episcopal tithe as a regular payment in their disposal (cf. Krofta 1904, 375–376; Hrubý 1917, 57–58; Fiala 1955, 69).⁸⁷ It can thus be stated that the transfer of tithes from *pagus dictus Isgorelik*, probably by Soběslav I, to the chapter in Stará Boleslav did not deviate from the customs practiced until the mid-twelfth century.

In the entire matter of the donation of the episcopal tithes from *pagus Isgorelik*, what is particularly intriguing for the modern reader is the fact that the tribute in question for the chapter in Stará Boleslav must have been paid from the territories belonging to the Diocese of Meissen. This circumstance seems less puzzling if one notes that the development of general tithing obligations for the population was even less advanced in the areas subject to the Bishops of Meissen than in the Diocese of Prague (cf. Schlesinger 1952, 356–360). This problem likely did not exist in general for Soběslav I himself, who, as may be supposed, took for granted the right of the secular ruler to establish tithes and distribute them. Moreover, it is not impossible that the prince also stood for giving the chapter in Stará Boleslav the episcopal tithes from southern Moravia, and thus also outside the Diocese of Prague. For a certain period of his reign, Soběslav held the Moravian provinces under his direct rule (cf. Měřínský 2009, 230–231), and at the same time cooperated closely with Bishop Henry Zdík, the creator of the material basis for the bishopric and chapter in Olomouc (cf. Wihoda 2010, 178–181, *passim*). Soběslav thus could count on the ordinary's understanding in the issue of tithes from a border region, particularly in that he simultaneously accepted the incorporation of the ringfort churches into the episcopal chapter in Olomouc.

⁸⁷ The developments in nearby dioceses took generally similar shape, see e.g. Schlesinger 1952, 356–360 on Meissen and Górecki 1993, 28, on Wrocław.

Admittedly, in 1298 the canons from Stará Boleslav themselves associated the beginnings of their tithing powers in Moravia with Duke Vratislav (CDM 5, 89, p. 89), identified either as Břetislav I⁸⁸ or Vratislav II. In this context, it is worth remembering that just making a reference to Soběslav could have been risky for them. In light of the same document, the first Czech king who confirmed these tithes to them was thus Přemysl Ottokar I, a member of the line of Vladislav I – it was only in his generation that the rivalry for the throne with the descendants of Soběslav I was finally won. In this context, it was beneficial for the canons to move back one or two generations, identifying the benefactor with founder of the canonry, Břetislav I, or with the common ancestor of the two feuding lines of the Přemyslids, Vratislav II, rather than referring to ancestor of the rivals of the family of the ruling monarch.

Regardless of whether or not Soběslav actually was the one to transfer the tithes from southern Moravia to the Canons of Stará Boleslav, in all likelihood he was the one who gave them the tithe from *pagus Isgorelik* because it was only during his reign that Eastern Upper Lusatia could have been a separate territory under this particular name. It thus seems that the Duke of Bohemia considered himself to be “vice-king”, dispensing royal holdings and incomes in Eastern Upper Lusatia without the personal consent of the emperor. Similar free conduct characterized the steps taken by this same ruler in the land of Nižane. As already demonstrated above, in 1139 he gave to the widow of Wiprecht II of Groitzsch a third of the legal incomes from this area, hidden under the name of its chief castle, Dohna. Walter Schlesinger (1953, 61) interprets this step by Soběslav I as evidence to the far-reaching decay of the burgraviate created in Dohna shortly before 1113. This statement seems correct insofar as that from the perspective of the Empire’s interests, it was not desirable that its entitlements could be distributed by third parties. In the context of the above-mentioned settlements vis-à-vis Eastern Upper Lusatia, it should, however, be ascertained that this solution apparently suited Lothair III, since he did not stand against Soběslav I exercising full rule in the territories entrusted to him north of the Sudetes and Ore Mountains. It seems that Emperor Lothair deliberately made Soběslav I a kind of special legate, endowed with powers of private-legal nature as the feudal possessor of the lands that his father had once received from Henry IV as well as representative of the emperor in those areas. The mention by the Canon of Vyšehrad of a *cura Sirbiae* (FRB 2, 232) thus bears the characteristics of a strong accumulation of power with the consent of the emperor, but not defined as a *comitatus*.

The note of the Canon of Vyšehrad cited above, in light of which Soběslav I at the moment of his death exercised *curam Sirbiae*, demonstrates that the territories included under that name – Upper Lusatia and the land of Nižane – were held by the Duke of Bohemia under other conditions than the Czech lands, where he was, at least

⁸⁸ Cf. Lalik 1971, 410; it seems unlikely, however, that the canons, who more or less knew Czech, mixed up the names Břetislav and Vratislav.

to some extent, *dominus naturalis* (cf. Graus 1988, 71–72; Žemlička 2011, 107–108). North of the Sudetes and Ore Mountains, Soběslav ruled under the authority of the German king. Any doubts in this respect are dispelled by the fate of this conglomerate of lands after 1140. The one who took possession of them was not one of Soběslav's heirs, but rather his nephew and successor to the Prague throne, Vladislav II. The succession of Vladislav in the Czech lands was the result of a decision taken by the local elites, who also thwarted the decision of Soběslav I for his son (also named Vladislav) to take power. The legalization of the new duke's possession of Upper Lusatia and the land of Nižane also certainly required approval from the German king, Conrad III, for many years rival and, from 1138, the successor of Lothair III. Apparently, the two lands were treated by the new king as a benefice to which the current Duke of Bohemia, and not Soběslav's family, had a legitimate claim. It may be even hypothesized that Upper Lusatia and the land of Nižane could have developed into a sort of *Amtslehen* of subsequent Bohemian monarchs, which would strengthen their ties to German royal power.

4.4.2 The short “return of the king” under the two first Staufers on the German throne

Even if the idea of *Sribia* as an “official feud” of Přemyslids appeared in the mind of Conrad III in 1140, the rapid political developments soon brought about a complete breakaway from the political line of “buying” the Přemyslids with Milsko and the land of Nižane, which began under Lothair III. Instead of binding himself to the Přemyslids, the first Staufer on the German throne revived the ideas of Henry V and made efforts to reinforce the institutional instead of personal bonds connecting the Saxon-Bohemian *confinium* with the Crown. A perfect opportunity to strengthen the structural connection of Milsko and the land of Nižane with the German kingdom already came up in 1142 on the occasion of the threat to Vladislav II's reign by Conrad II of Znojmo. In a certain sense, the situation before 1081 was restored as both lands were transferred by the king to the Margrave of Meissen, Conrad of Wettin.

The basic difference vis-à-vis the situation from the years 1069–1081 can be seen in the fact that in 1143, Eastern Upper Lusatia, called Zagozd (cf. Fokt 2013a, 237), remained a separate entity from the rest of Milsko (i.e., the land of Budyšin). This is clear from the document of Conrad III of 1144 containing the findings of the royal arbitration between Meinward, Bishop of Meissen, and Conrad of Wettin Budyšin regarding lands recently acquired by the latter, possessed earlier by the Přemyslids (MGH DK III, no. 119). In this diploma, Eastern Upper Lusatia, hidden under the name of Zagozd, was not treated as a part of Milsko, but mentioned alongside it. Furthermore, in this document, the obligations of the inhabitants of the bishop's holdings in both parts of Milsko were defined differently, indicating that Milsko proper (i.e. the later land of Budyšin) and Zagozd differed in terms of the grade of privileges granted to the ecclesiastical holdings.



Figure 4.4: King Conrad III (according to *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ca 1240), Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 467, fol. 64v. After: *Die Zeit der Staufer*, Stuttgart 1977, vol. 2, fig. 544. Public domain, copy obtained through Wikimedia Commons, URL <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=80912>.

In taking over Milsko, Zagozd and the land of Nižane from the Přemyslids, Conrad III established a clear political line to Henry V, again creating a burgrave in Dohna (cf. Kobuch 1996, 334). It is thus characteristic that the *Burggrafschaft* in Dohna was reactivated simultaneously with the burgravia office in Meissen (cf. Helbig 1955, 225; Thieme 2001, 154–155). This circumstance leads to seeing the reorganization of governance in the lands east of the Elbe conducted by the first king of the Staufer Dynasty as an expression of a break with the ideas of Lothair III, who ensured his influence in the region by supporting his faithful and reliable ally, the Duke of Bohemia, as a sort of “governor” or “vice-king” for the Empire. It is now hard to state, as it probably also was in the 12th century, whether the idea of Lothair III of “buying” the favor of the Duke of Bohemia by granting him Milsko and the land of Nižane as a fief was more lucrative for the Crown than the idea of expanding the rule of the Wettins introduced by Conrad III, or not. Nevertheless, the first king of the Staufer dynasty had every reason to assume he did the right thing (cf. Kobuch 1996, 334; Thieme 2001, 155–159; see also Ziegler 2008, 484). Although the granting of Upper Lusatia and the land of Nižane to the Margrave of Meissen led to the significant increase of the Wettins’ power, he could have assumed, after all, that it would be easier for him to control his own margrave than the practically independent Duke of Bohemia. The additional guarantees to the balance of power in the region were the newly-created burgraviates in Meissen and Dohna as well as the presence of the rich and privileged bishopric of Meissen, which was dependent on the king rather than on the margrave.

Conrad III referred to the concept from the era of the Salian Dynasty in yet another respect. From a document certifying the settlement of the conflict between Margrave Conrad and Bishop Meinward issued in November 1144 (MGH DK III, no. 119), it is clear that the king not only did not appoint his burgrave in the area of Milsko and Zagozd, but he also considered these areas to be the special dominion of the margrave. This is evidenced by the designation of the local ringforts belonging to the laic authorities as *castra marchionis*. Interestingly, in the period when the royal burgraves held charge over the castles in Meissen and Dohna, likely already collecting the appropriate payments (*Wachkorn*) from that title, in Milsko and Zagozd there still operated the archaic system of common people serving as watchmen in the ringforts and likely also in some of the frontier bulwarks. It thus appears that the reorganization of royal power bases east of the Saale conducted by Conrad III took place only in the lands on the Elbe, without reaching territories lying further to the east. Therefore, it is entirely possible that the status of Conrad of Wettin in Milsko and Zagozd did not differ all that much from what the Přemyslids enjoyed between 1126–1142. From the viewpoint of the king, it was probably still a better solution than the predilection of Soběslav I shown by Lothair III, as Conrad of Wettin was – unlike any of Přemyslids – already checked by royal burgraves in the main center of his power (Meissen and Dohna).

Unfortunately, the royal document of November 1144 – not the only one in this period concerning the rights to incomes and services of Margrave Conrad and local bishops (cf. Ziegler 2008, 485–486) – is the only source illustrating

the political and legal status of Milsko and Zagozd between 1143–1156. In any case, it shows unambiguously that under the reign of Conrad of Wettin, Zagozd was still an administrative entity separate from Milsko, comprising some part of the governmental and dominial prerogatives in Eastern Upper Lusatia. These entitlements not only concerned the royal estates around Görlitz, but also the holdings of the Bishopric of Meissen on the Nysa and Witka rivers. From their inhabitants, Conrad of Wettin could demand guard duty, but not that they build fortifications. This happened differently in the “native” Milsko, where the peasants were obliged to perform both of these duties. The bishop’s villages in the land of Nižane were even more privileged in the document of 1144, as they were exempt from both the watch duty and from building ringforts. The absence of additional sources shedding light on this issue makes it impossible to determine from where apparent differences in privileges for the bishop’s estates in the three territories, which shared a common history for many years, came. However, as has been argued above (section 4.4.1; see also below, sub-chapter 5.3), the difference between Milsko proper (vicinity of Budyšin) and Zagozd should be probably related to the period of their separate rule in the years 1126–1139.

From the considerations set out above, it follows that Lothair III and Conrad III applied different strategies vis-à-vis the methods of governing the eastern fringes of their holdings neighboring with Poland and Bohemia. Lothair III opted for splitting the legacy of Wiprecht and Henry of Groitzsch among a few holders, and guardianship over part of it – Upper Lusatia and the land of Nižane – was entrusted to his ally Soběsláv I. Conrad III, by contrast, committed to placing a large part of the territories of Henry of Groitzsch in the hands of Margrave Conrad of Wettin, but lending him an additional administrative structure directly dependent on the king – the burgraviates. Under the reign of Conrad III, this twofold organizational system did not, however, include Milsko or Zagozd. This was to happen only under Conrad III’s successor to the German throne, Frederick I (Barbarossa). Because it is known, at least partially, what the makeup of the assembly was during which Conrad consigned his titles (the relevant margraval document – CDS 1–2, no. 262 – formulated this metaphorically with the words *arma deposui*), we know that those present included the current royal burgraves of Budyšin (Bautzen), Theoderic, and Cottbus (Chotěbuž), Henry. The presence of both of these royal functionaries on the list of witnesses to the document issued in such significant circumstances was not at all accidental. It is completely possible that Theoderic and Henry, who had earlier not been mentioned as burgraves in the sources, only took over these functions as a result of Conrad’s resignation. They thus would have been the castellans of Budyšin and Cottbus, the last from the list of royal burgraves to be qualified by the first two Staufers on the German throne (cf. Helbig 1955, 206–207, *passim*; Thieme 2001, 152–163).

Even if the *Burggrafschaft* in Budyšin really was established only in 1156, its appointment demonstrates the increased interest in Milsko by the second member of the Staufer Dynasty on the German throne, Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–1190),

already seen in the first years of his reign. A further factor in the sources appealing to the thesis that this ruler intended to continue the policies of his predecessor in the areas that he failed to include in the reorganization of the bases of royal power is a mention of a complex of royal estates called *Budesin* and *Milza* in the Register of Royal Table Estates (*Königliche Tafelgüterverzeichnis*). In light of the current state of the research, the foundations of this list were created between 1152–1153, but its final version known to us contains certain data that was current only after 1158 (mention of *Leisnig*, *Licendice*), and the only known copy of the manuscript was written between 1166–1174 (Schlesinger 1974/75; Brühl, Kölzer eds. 1979, 32–45; Kobuch 1996, 308).

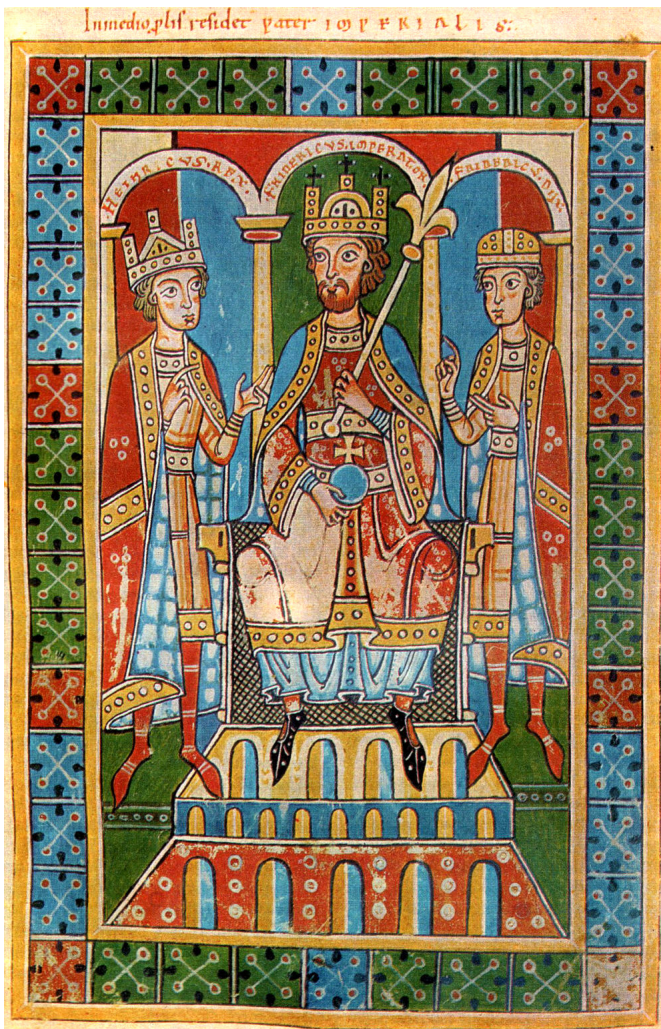


Figure 4.5: Emperor Frederick I with his sons according to *Historia Welforum*, Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. D. 11, fol. 14r. Public domain, copy obtained through Wikimedia Commons, URL <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=228070>.

The contents of the *Tafelgüterverzeichnis* roughly correspond to its title in the manuscript (*Indiculus curiarum, quae ad mensam regis Romanorum pertinent*) – it is a list of the local royal holdings in most of the German lands and in Lombardy. Most scholars argue in favor of a connection between this register and the system of provisioning the travelling royal court, tied to the appellation *servitium regis*. Twenty years ago, Caroline Gödel (1997) expressed what seem to be well-founded doubts of whether the concept of *servitium regis* known from eleventh to thirteenth century sources was necessarily associated with provisioning the court with *naturalia*. This author also pointed out that the *Tafelgüterverzeichnis* also was not, as it had previously been considered, a register of table estates in the sense known from later times (i.e. dedicated to maintaining the court), but rather was a list of manors associated with the royal canonry appointed for Frederick Barbarossa in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in Aachen. Without entering into the discussion of which is correct – the traditional interpretation of table estates as holdings serving for maintaining the royal court or Gödel's revolutionary thesis – it should be clear that, in practice, the share of the royal holdings located in the land of Nižane, Milsko and Zagozd could not have been significant in maintaining the royal court, if only because the king very rarely came to these places. The mentions of *Budisin* and *Milza* in the *Tafelgüterverzeichnis* should thus be considered primarily as proof that Frederick I Barbarossa took care that the royal holdings in the future Upper Lusatia remained as such, even if in practice they were not directly ruled by royal stewards.

The mentions of *Budisin* and *Milza* in the *Tafelgüterverzeichnis* as well as the establishment, likely after the resignation of Conrad of Wettin in 1156, of the burgraviate in Budyšin indicate the apogee of the interests of the Staufer Dynasty kings in the lands on the Nysa and Spree. Soon, in the years 1156–1157, Frederick I Barbarossa achieved a volte-face that in essence was a return to the political line of Lothair III. Instead of building an administrative structure directly dependent on him in Milsko and Zagozd, the emperor decided rather to “buy” with these lands favor and aid from the Duke and soon-to-be King of Bohemia, Vladislav II. This time, however, the *de facto* state the two parties interested created was to become extremely durable. The acquisition of power in Budyšin by Vladislav II in 1157 or 1158 proved to be a watershed event in the history of this land. It opened a period of nearly a century of Přemyslid rule, during which many groundbreaking events in the history of Upper Lusatia occurred, that deserve, however, a separate study.

4.5 From counties to benefices, back and forth: preliminary results of Chapter 4

The issues concerning structural means of governance certainly do not belong to the most popular areas of interest of medievalists. That is why Chapter 4 aimed at answering questions that were never or only rarely asked. One may, of course, argue that for the

Middle Ages such questions as how legal and institutional frameworks of governance looked like are just not interesting because of the low grade of institutionalization and prevalence of immediate, personalized and unofficial relations in those times. That would be, however, an obvious example of *petitio principii*, and I hope to have delivered a few facts in this book that speak against such an oversimplified approach.

The launching point of the present chapter was the history of *Marchia Milzania* and its demotion, sketched in the sub-chapters 4.1–4.2. It appears that at least until 1046 Milsko was perceived in the Empire as a separate county, an entity in and on itself, even if it was not governed at the moment by its own count. Indications of such a status of Upper Lusatia are not known, however, from the second half of the eleventh century, when – according to a recent study by Andrea Stieldorf (2012) – the marches of the Empire underwent the processes of stabilization. It seems, therefore, that Upper Lusatia missed the train of institutionalization into a margraviate. One of the reasons for such a situation was certainly the political fate of the land after 1081, when it fell out from the system of eastern marches and was granted to Vratislav I(II) and then Wiprecht II of Groitzsch as a benefice. The question of actual formal status of Milsko after 1081 was broadly analyzed in the sub-chapter 4.3. The result was the denial of either comital or allodial status of Milsko at that time. It occurred that through all the period 1081–1126 Milsko was wielded by subsequent rulers – mostly the lords of Groitzsch – as a benefice granted directly from the kings of Germany and not as a subfief of the Přemyslids. The beneficial way of holding the land did not change after 1126 and 1135, when first the easternmost part and then the whole Milsko was granted by Lothair III to duke Soběslav I of Bohemia (cf. above, section 4.4.1). Only in 1143, when Milsko was taken away from Soběslav's successor, Vladislav II, by king Conrad III, the land – in the meantime divided into Milsko proper (land of Budyšin) and Zagozd – was again incorporated into the structure of the eastern marches, being granted to Conrad the Great of Wettin. Under Conrad III and in the early years of Frederick I the institutional control of the governance of in Upper Lusatia was further growing. This process reached its apex in 1156 with the creation of a royal burgraviate in Budyšin (cf. section 4.4.2).

5 Local infrastructure of governance: behind and besides the ramparts of ringforts

In the following chapter, the question of local infrastructures of power and governance – mostly the fortified places and administrative entities of the lowest order (ringfort districts, parishes) will be analyzed for the whole period referred to in this book, with limitation to Eastern Upper Lusatia. The launching point of these deliberations will be the laconic mention of the two *civitates* of the *Besunzane* in the *Bavarian Geographer*. Further on, the questions of the existence of burgwards in the Ottonic period and transformations of the local infrastructures of power and governance in Eastern Upper Lusatia in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries will be discussed.

5.1 The two *civitates* of the *Besunzane*

In the only source in which the *Besunzane* were mentioned as a distinct ethno-political entity, the *Bavarian Geographer*, only two *civitates* were ascribed to them. The term *civitas* in the *Bavarian Geographer*, as recently demonstrated in an erudite analysis of early medieval sources by Sébastien Rossingol (2011, 85–89, *passim*; see also Łowmiański 1958, 3–5), should be primarily understood not as some nearly unspecified territorial entity, but as fortified settlements. For a long time, historians and archaeologists undertook more or less successful attempts to identify the two *civitates* of the *Besunzane* (see Tyszkiewicz 1964, 16; Knebel 1987, 9; Billig 1995, 63; Jaworski 2005, 308–309; Wenzel 2014b, 397; with further ref.). The issue from the perspective of this study is, in this case, all the more important that the citation in the *Bavarian Geographer* is the only concrete historical information on the power structure of Eastern Upper Lusatia from the period before the annexation of this area by Ekkehard I of Meissen.

It is striking that in the whole of the long list that is the *Bavarian Geographer*, the creator of the source assigned no other people such a small number of settlements as he did the *Besunzane*. This statement may be weakened by taking into account the second supposed entry on the *Besunzane* in the *Bavarian Geographer* – namely, the note on a people with a name written down as the *Phesunzi*, which had as many as seventy *civitates* (this record was first associated with **Besunzane* by Anton Kraliček, 1898, 226. See also Nalepa 2003, 13–15). That the *Besunzane* (in the form **Běžunci*) could be hidden under this name is proven by its appearance in the very beginning of the second half of the *Bavarian Geographer* in the sequence *Miloxi–Phesnuzi–Thadesi*, which was a twin to the *Dadosesani–Milzane–Besunzane* group located at the end of the list of the groups of peoples. The fact that both of these groups of names probably refer to the same peoples, as emphatically pointed out by Jerzy Nalepa (2003, 13–15; see also Witczak 1993, 12 and Witczak 2012, 2), are deductions based on linguistic

argumentations. A question thus appears here: which of the notes in the *Bavarian Geographer* are to be trusted in terms of the number of *Besunzane civitates*: the first (*Phesnuzi habent civitates LXX*) or the second (*Besunzane civitates II*)?

The answer to that question is much easier than it might seem. Both notes are in two different parts of a list of peoples, perhaps having different metrics, where the occurrence of doubles may appear. The first group, opening the second part of the *Bavarian Geographer* (from the *Ostabtrezi* to the *Zeriuani* or *Uelunzani*), contains a number of *civitates* by nearly every name, and by some a brief description as well. This is the fragment of the *Bavarian Geographer* that contains most of the names not mentioned in other sources, arranged alphabetically in several successive sequences (cf. Łowmiański 1951-52, 18–22, *passim*; see also Billig 1995, 30). The number of settlements given next to the individual names in this part ranges from 67 to 400, but it seems that when referring to some of the peoples – at least the *Thadesi* (=Dziadoszanie, allegedly having more than 200 settlements) or the *Glopeani* (probably the *Słopianie,⁸⁹ at least 400 settlements) – this could even exceed the total number of human settlements located in their territories, not to mention the number of ringforts. Furthermore, the recordings of the ethnonyms *Miloxi* – *Phesnuzi* – *Thadesi* themselves are more “corrupted” than the *Dadosesani* – *Milzane* – *Besunzane* forms that probably also refer to the same peoples, which could result from the long road these names had traveled from the time they were noted down by the person making the first record until their introduction into the notes known to us as the *Bavarian Geographer*. In other words, the author of the notes in the form in which we now know it, whilst compiling his own list, or making use of an already-extant register containing unreliable numbers, or putting together this part of the list from notes (a trace of which are the alphabetical sequences) added these astronomical numbers himself to the names of peoples that meant nothing to him because he knew that no one would check how many settlements these distant and poorly-known barbarians actually had. This proposal argues for the rejection of the seventy *civitates* for the *Besunzane* as being completely unbelievable and not considering the note *Phesnuzi habent civitates LXX* in later studies on the settlement and power structures in this part of the Western Slavdom.

The number of two *civitates* given by the name *Besunzane* at the end of the *Bavarian Geographer* is much more realistic. As mentioned above, none of the other peoples mentioned in this source boasted a smaller number of settlements. The next peoples in this respect – the Bulgars (*Uulgari*) and Gołęszyce (*Golensizi*), who lived in what later became Upper Silesia – had five *civitates* each. The specific example of the Bulgars seems characteristic compared to this, as the author of the list of peoples himself saw fit to explain here that they had so few settlements due to their large

⁸⁹ Cf. here the argument of Jerzy Nalepa (2003, 12–15). We are talking about a tribe mentioned in the sources as the *Selpuli* and often found under this name in the historical literature.

numbers and customs about this different from the other peoples described.⁹⁰ From the statements presented by the mention of the Bulgars, one must conclude that in the eyes of the author of the *Bavarian Geographer* the population of the people in question generally was translated into a number of “towns”, and the Bulgars themselves were in this respect exceptional. In other words, in light of their number of settlements, the *Besunzane* were certainly noticed by this author’s informers as a people distinctly smaller than the Gołężycy (five *civitates*), *Linaa* (seven *civitates*) and the mysterious *Uerizane*⁹¹ (ten *civitates*).

If one takes into account the data on the scope of the settlement history and archaeology of all of these peoples, it turns out that this observation is roughly in line with the actual situation that existed in the ninth and tenth centuries. Taking this reasoning a step further, it is not difficult to notice that the disproportion in the number of settlements between, for example, the Gołężycy (five) and the neighboring tribe of the Opolanie (twenty) or the *Besunzane* (two) and the nearby Milčane and Lužičane (thirty *civitates* each) is significantly larger than the disproportion between the *ecumenae* inhabited by these peoples.⁹² It thus seems that in the time when the *Bavarian Geographer* was drawn up, some of the West Slavic tribes were characterized by a significantly lower fortified settlement density than others. There are two conceivable hypothetical explanations for this situation: either those tribes with a disproportionally small number of strongholds (i.e. the *Besunzane*) at the time this census was written had not yet managed to build more of them or did not feel the need to do so – perhaps because they represented another model of social and/or political relations or were not experiencing many external threats.

Asserting which of these explanations would best fit the situation of the *Besunzane* is difficult at this stage in the research for three reasons. First of all, we are not able to precisely date the creation of the second part of the *Bavarian Geographer*. Secondly, the exact date of the incorporation of the small country of the *Besunzane* to the political structure of Milsko is not known (although a hypothetical, approximate dating has been proposed above: section 2.3.2). Thirdly, the current state of the archaeological research on the settlements of Eastern Upper Lusatia is not sufficient to determine with suitable precision when individual early medieval ringforts were constructed in this area, and therefore which of these should be attributed to the *Besunzane* and which to the Milčane. What we actually do know is that most probably two fortified settlements existed on the territory of the *Besunzane* at the time the

⁹⁰ *Uulgarii regio est immensa et populus multus habens civitates V, eo quod multitudo magna ex eis sit et non sit eis opus civitates habere.*

⁹¹ For a discussion on the *Uerizane*, cf. most recently Nalepa 2003 and Witczak 2012.

⁹² With regard to the Gołężycy and Opolanie, one can generally speak of a reverse proportion of the number of settlements and the presumed tribal territories, as undoubtedly the former inhabited a more extensive (and more fertile) area than the latter (cf. here Parczewski 1982, 125–126, *passim*).

Bavarian Geographer was written in the late ninth or early tenth century. There remains, however, a question – which?

An “ironclad” candidate seems to be the bipartite fortified settlement on the Landeskrona (cf. Schultz 1939/1940, 57; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 177–178; Knebel 1987, 9; Lübke 1987, 48, no. 496; Wenzel 2014b, 397; Bobková, Březina, Zdichynec 2008, 19, 25; see also other works referenced by Jaworski 2005, 308, fn. 1503). This supposition, basing upon the probable relation of the oronym and etnonym, cannot be, however, taken for granted. The first argument against it is that the dating of the archeological findings from that site does not necessarily correspond with the dating of the *Bavarian Geographer*.⁹³ Krzysztof Jaworski (2005, 308) proposed also another type of argument against locating one of the *Besunzane*’s *civitates* on the Landeskrona. Namely, this scholar pointed out the relatively small size of the rampart atop the Landeskrona and the possible difficulties in obtaining access to drinking water in the area. This argument, after much consideration, appears to be misguided. The supposedly too small rampart on the Landeskrona is much larger than the rampart in Białogórze, which was proposed by Jaworski as an alternative candidate for one of the two *civitates*.⁹⁴ This is especially so, since one must take into account both parts of the stronghold, of which the lower, broader segment, due to the characteristics of the artifacts discovered within its ramparts, was certainly not younger than the upper one (Richthofen 2003, 293). Jaworski’s second argument seems more correct, although its strength is moderate, as the lack of water did not prevent the Germans from using the hillfort on the Landeskrona (*urbs magna Businc*) as their main base in the area, which is clearly confirmed in the chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg (*sub anno* 1015).⁹⁵ Despite these reservations, Jaworski’s suggestion that neither of the two *civitates* of the *Besunzane* were located on Landeskrona Mountain should not be rejected hastily, because it is supported by other kinds of arguments. Firstly, the close correspondence of the oronym and etnonym in case of the *Besunzane* suggest that the mountain – the Lusatian Parnassus or Helicon, as Samuel Grosser (1714, 191) called it – could have had some mythical meaning for the local Slavs, serving perhaps even as a local *axis*

⁹³ In his monograph about this site, Jasper von Richthofen (2003) even affirmed that this fortification did not yet exist at the time of the writing of the *Bavarian Geographer*. This is because von Richthofen’s statement was based on the source having been dated too early (c. 850–870), and he repudiated it shortly thereafter (Richthofen 2004). Nevertheless, there are also no convincing archeological arguments suggesting that the rampart upon the Landeskrona existed already in the late ninth/early tenth century.

⁹⁴ Even if we also take into account the exterior part of this object, the existence of which was kindly brought to my attention by the discoverer of the defense line, Paweł Zubrzycki.

⁹⁵ The fact that the castle’s holders knew very well about the problem of water supply is evidenced by the discovery in the lower part of the foundations of an object interpreted to be a cistern (Richthofen 2003, 277).

mundi.⁹⁶ The closest analogy (in historical and topographic respect), the mount Ślęża in Silesia (cf. Rosik 2010; Rosik 2011, 69–70), suggests that building of a stronghold upon a sacred mountain was not tabooed, but the model of fortifications registered on the Ślęża differs from the system of ramparts discovered on the Landeskrone.⁹⁷ Secondly, as has been already pointed out above, the dating of the stronghold on the Landeskrone is imprecise and one may not take for granted that it existed already as the account known as the *Bavarian Geographer* was written down.

Discrediting the seemingly natural hypothesis that one of the *civitates* of the *Besunzane* must have been located on the Landeskrone does not mean that one should automatically accept Jaworski's counterproposal, that the structure in question was the ring fort in Białogórze (site no. 1). Besides the small size of this structure, another argument against Jaworski's proposal is based on its peripheral location in the territory of the *Besunzane* and lack of any evidence that would allow for dating the respective fortification precisely enough. These arguments would be sufficient to debunk the Białogórze hypothesis if not for the fact that one of the largest burial mound complexes in the Western Slavic lands is located near this ringfort, suggesting that the object in Białogórze may have been a structure of particular regional significance (Jaworski 2005). But is this premise enough, however, to place one of the two *civitates* of the *Besunzane* there? There can only be one answer to this question: no; at this stage in the research it cannot be regarded as proven that any kind of fortified settlement ever existed on the area now belonging to the village of Białogórze before the disappearance of the *Besunzane* from the political map of Europe. This results from the prosaic reason that there is a lack of precise dating that would adequately allow us to exactly date the ringfort. One could of course argue that in view of the probable functional relationship between the ringfort and the burial ground, the former should be dated similarly to the latter. This argument is, however, double-edged, as in the burial ground in Białogórze there was at least one mound (no. XI/1970) in which pieces of a ceramic vessel with a cylindrical neck were discovered – indicating that the vessel was made only in the period when the region was already under the control of the Milčane, maybe even later. The burial ground in Białogórze, thus, most probably functioned during the times of the independent *Besunzane* as

⁹⁶ Such a suggestion seems to be legitimate in regard to a structure of relatively significant height, clearly exposed in the landscape – certainly more so than the similar suggestion recently put forward in regard to Górzno mountain (actually, a hill) in Wielkopolska (cf. Kara 2009, 178–180).

⁹⁷ The larger of two pre-Piast defensive ramparts on the Ślęża, situated on the summit of the mountain, was approx. 0.45 ha large (Domański 2002, 101), i.e. not much larger than the area of the upper part of the rampart on the Landeskrone (0.3 ha), which was also located at the top of a hill, but much smaller than the area of the whole site including the lower part, which was certainly not younger than the upper embankment (approx. 1.3 ha, cf. Richtofen 2003, 265). It seems also significant that there were some traces of various economic activities such as blacksmithing and wood tarring on the Landeskrone (von Richtofen 2003, 292–293, *passim*).

well as during the period of Milčane supremacy. Due to this, only new excavations on the Białogórze ringfort and dating this particular structure would determine whether or not it was in use at the time when the second part of the *Bavarian Geographer* was written.

The above assertion should apply not only to the ringfort in Białogórze, but also to all of the remaining defensive structures in Eastern Upper Lusatia. In that case, however, the current state of the research on the whole area in question may only designate one ringfort attributed to the *Besunzane* that definitely existed at the time the second part of the *Bavarian Geographer* was written. This is the ringfort in Niedów (site no. 1) where a large assemblage of special finds which can be dated to the ninth and first half of the tenth centuries was discovered (Jaworski 2005, 47–50, with further ref.). Here is not the place to consider if these artifacts really reflect two separate phases in the ringfort's existence – as Krzysztof Jaworski tends to claim – or if the spurs that imitate early Carolingian ring spurs should indeed be interpreted as an “admixture” in the inventory of the first half of the tenth century.⁹⁸ It must, however, be strongly affirmed that the movable finds from the two older chronological horizons highlighted in Niedów allow us to date the use of this structure to the times when the second part of the *Bavarian Geographer* probably was written. In addition to dating these artifacts, this conjecture is also supported by the stratigraphy of the site. Halina Śledzik-Kamińska, in her research on the ringfort in Niedów in the 1980s, was able to distinguish two phases for the ramparts and also found a fairly large vertical arrangement of layers in the courtyard, indicating a longer period of operation for the ringfort even before the cultural layer containing objects from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries began to be laid down.⁹⁹

The fort in Niedów, located in the Witka river valley not far from its confluence with the Nysa, was located in the southern part of the *Besunzane* land, perhaps on its southeastern edge. In searching for the second *civitas* of the *Besunzane* besides Niedów, it is thus necessary to pay close attention to the northern part of their area, located closer to the eponymous mountain (today the Landeskrone). As already mentioned above, it is not very likely that the second *civitas* of the *Besunzane* was one

⁹⁸ In another of his texts, Jaworski (2012) drew attention to the need to reckon with the sometimes much later dating of southern imports discovered north of the Sudetes and Carpathian Mountains than would be indicated by the appropriate chronology of these types of objects in their places of origin. Particular caution in terms of constructing the oldest early Carolingian chronological horizon in Niedów suggests the fact that among the three spurs, allegedly imitations of ring spurs, there has only been a published drawing for one of them, and for the others there were rudimentary descriptions whereby we can speak here of relics devoid of fasteners (Jaworski 2005, 47–48).

⁹⁹ As far as one can tell from the brief reports that have been published, below a cultural layer of considerable thickness there were discovered in Niedów three sunken features, one of which (feat. no. 3) first was used as a cistern, and then was twice as a sunken part of a building. See more about this in: Śledzik-Kamińska 1988b, 109–111; Fokt 2013b, 53–54).

of the ringforts erected on the very fringe of the settled area, which indeed excludes the proposals of Sulików by Jänecke (1923, 13) and Białogórze by Jaworski (2005). It seems more likely that the second *Besunzane* ringfort was (despite the arguments advanced above) either the structure located on the Landeskrone or one of the ringforts in the vicinity. It has been suggested by Jurij Knebel and Hans-Jürgen Stoll that it could have been the alleged stronghold in Görlitz (Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 178); in fact, it is even not certain if a ringfort of such an old date existed there at all (see the details in App. 2, No. 11). There is, however, one more fortified settlement in the northern part of the *Besunzane* territory that should be remembered: the rampart on the Kreuzberg Hill in Jauernick. The majority of the artifacts found there have been pottery materials of the “middle Slavic” type (cf. Richthofen 2003, 297). It should be also mentioned here that in a later time Jauernick also played a particular role in the region’s structures of governance (cf. below, sub-chapters 5.4, 5.6). However, as long as we are not able to precisely date either the archaeological site at Jauernick or other ringforts in the northern part of the *Besunzane* lands, the question of their second *civitas* remains open for further discussion.



Figure 5.1: The Jauernicker Berge: Kreuzberg with ringfort (right) and Schwarzer Berg with mound cemetery (left) viewed from the ringfort in Koźlice (site no. 1). Photo by K. Fokt, 2009.

5.2 Possible vestiges of the infrastructure of governance of the Milčane in the Eastern Upper Lusatia

From the perspective of nearly a millennium later, the reign of the Milčane in Eastern Upper Lusatia may only seem an episode in the history of that sub-region. However, taking into account the breakneck pace of the military and political events of the turbulent tenth century, it is worth noting that it did not last briefly, or for only one generation. Even if we accept that the *Besunzane* were “absorbed” by the Milčane

shortly before 970 – indicated above (sub-chapter 2.3.2) as being less likely – it is necessary to remember that the Milčane were the last Slavic tribe between the Elbe and the Nysa to lose their political autonomy. This took place only due to Ekkehard I¹⁰⁰ and no earlier than 985/987 when he recovered Meissen from the Czechs (see Schrage 2004b, 32–33; Sobiesiak 2006, 84–85; Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 270–278, with further ref.); usually the date of Ekkehard's conquest of the Milčane is accepted as ca. 990 but also other possibilities are taken into account (cf. Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 280, fn. 230–232). Assuming that the conquest of the *Besunzane* by the Milčane took place as proposed above (section 2.3.2), between 935 and 950 rather than shortly before the 970s, and the final conquest of the Milčane by Ekkehard took place between 985 and 999 (see below, sub-chapter 4.1), we can state that the reign of the Milčane over the former lands of the *Besunzane* lasted a period of 35 to 64 years, i.e. about one or two human generations.

From the perspective of this study, this situation is interesting in and of itself, but complicates analyzing the material sources because it means that the ringforts where pottery fragments of the middle-Slavic type (top wheel-thrown) were discovered could just as easily be traces of *Besunzane* activity as they could be remnants of the era of Milčane supremacy. The current state of the research does not allow us to definitively conclude that any of the ringforts that existed in Eastern Upper Lusatia only functioned during the time that the region belonged to the Milčane, or even that they were only built then because we do not know exactly when the Milčane conquered this area and we do not have at our disposal exact time stamps from these structures. The younger phase of the structure in Niedów, which was dated using metal artifacts, a fairly accurate time stamp, as functioning between the second half of the tenth century to the first half of the eleventh (Jaworski 2005, 49–51), and the ringfort in Tylice, where samples for dendrochronological dating were obtained (see Krapiec 2007),¹⁰¹ are no exceptions. In both of these cases, only the possibility that these ringforts functioned during the era of *Besunzane* independence was eliminated; it cannot be ruled out, however, that they were built when Milsko was incorporated into the March of Meissen.

In the current state of the research, there is no way to divide the ringforts of Eastern Upper Lusatia into individual chronological horizons and connect them with periods of political history – *Besunzane* self-rule, Milčane domination and the incorporation of the region into the March of Meissen. It is, however, worth devoting some attention to the issue of how much the affiliation of Eastern Upper Lusatia to the Milčane made a mark on the region's cultural landscape (such as the number of ringforts preserved

¹⁰⁰ Thietmar V 7, 228–229: [Ekkehardus] Milzien[t]os a libertate inolita servitutis iugo constrictit.

¹⁰¹ The obtained result was not clear, allowing for the placement of the obtained yearly growth sequence in the tenth or eleventh century, but the archaeological dating of the ringfort suggests that it more likely dates to the end of the tenth century (after 973).

here). The inductive factors for settling this question are hopelessly small – such data can only be obtained from further archaeological research and mainly through dendrochronological tests of charred wood – but we are not completely deprived of possibilities to deduce a conclusion. While this cannot settle specific questions, it may allow for the proposal of some working hypotheses regarding the origins of the ringforts of Eastern Upper Lusatia which could then be verified or rejected in the course of further archaeological research.

The key to this deductive conclusion is the obvious diversity of the ringforts of Eastern Upper Lusatia in terms of their forms, locations and possible functions (cf. here: Knebel 1983, 168–169). On one hand, there exist on the area of Eastern Upper Lusatia ringforts that in terms of their strong fortifications and small area can be recognized as the result of the activities of powerful locals (cf. Knebel 1983, 167–168). It is even believed, based on analyses of the so-called Tornow type of ringforts, that this very social group was behind the construction of numerous fortifications among the Slavs in the tenth century, giving the impression of a kind of “arms race” (Biermann 2006, 172; Biermann 2012, 418–419, *passim*). Good examples of such structures are the very small ones located in Sulików or Ebersbach. On the other hand, at least some of the defensive structures situated in Upper Lusatia (and by no means only in the eastern part) can be described as fortified rural settlements or refugial strongholds for the local rural population. This hypothesis is the result of the disproportion between the number of ringforts and open settlements discovered in Upper Lusatia (the latter number is surprisingly small, cf. Jaworski 2005, 308). There is also no way to underestimate the role of wartime events in the building of the ringforts; some of them could have been built on an *ad hoc* basis for use in specific military campaigns by both the aggressors and the local populations attempting to defend themselves.¹⁰² The defensive structure in Białogórze and the particularly large, bipartite stronghold on the Landeskrone can again be interpreted differently (cf. below). Theoretically, the ringforts of Eastern Upper Lusatia could have fulfilled all of these functions both during the period of *Besunzane* self-rule as well as during the reign of the Milčane or also under the rule of the Margrave of Meissen. There are, however, factors indicating that the largest amount, both in number and diversity, of the defensive structures located in Eastern Upper Lusatia was achieved during the time of Milčane domination – no earlier and no later.

¹⁰² The impression of hurried building activities can be made through the stratigraphic analysis of the defensive rampart in Koźlice, which was largely built of wood and gravel (this does not by any means guarantee durability of construction). Additionally, after the destruction of the first phase of the embankment, the second was erected directly on the rubble of the first and only supplemented with slight leveling of the ground, which also did not guarantee the durability of the construction (cf. Fokt 2013b, 35–37, 39).

Firstly, comparing Eastern Upper Lusatia with neighboring Lower Lusatia as well as with the “native” territory of the Milčane around Budyšin demonstrates unambiguously that in terms of the diverse forms and dominant functions of the ringforts, this territory is more similar to the second than the first of these two regions (cf. Wilhelm 2004a, 51). The Lower Lusatian analogy could be helpful in one other respect: as accurately noted by Joachim Henning (2004), here, as in Lower Lusatia, the German conquest was followed not by the development of the ringfort network, but rather by a reduction of it. This is another factor supporting the thesis that the largest number and variety of ringforts in Eastern Upper Lusatia was probably achieved during the period of Milčane rule, which indeed does not mean that the defensive structures that were erected then or earlier were not then used during the wars of Henry II and Conrad II with the Piast rulers in the early eleventh century.

In sub-chapter 3.2, I attempted to demonstrate that the Milčane were a tribe driven by an elite capable of organizing ambitious trade and military projects, which allowed them to maintain a long period of political autonomy. It is therefore expected that this society must have achieved a certain level of internal diversity, which again should be reflected in the material relics of their settlements. The construction of fortified settlements also undoubtedly had a longer tradition with the Milčane than with the *Besunzane*, as unambiguously evidenced by the number of *civitates* ascribed to both tribes in the *Bavarian Geographer*. One could even wonder whether the erection of a dense network of ringforts in Eastern Upper Lusatia does not simply mean a transfer of a model already developed in the Milčane’s native lands in the Spree river basin to the newly-occupied lands. However, to competently comment on this material, more archaeological research the ringforts from the Nysa area is needed to allow for a reliable chronological stratification for this set of hypotheses. So far, only two hillforts mentioned above (Niedów, phase II, Tylice) likely can be dated for the time of Milčane domination, but it cannot be completely ruled out that they were only built during the reign of Ekkehard I or Bolesław the Brave over Milsko.¹⁰³

As already mentioned above, it is quite possible that the bipartite stronghold on the Landeskronen hill was erected during Milčane rule of the region. It was, however, also obviously used later, during the period of German rule (see further, section 5.4.2). The preponderance of the “late Slavic” ceramics among the finds from the smaller, higher part of the stronghold, contrasting with the domination of “middle-Slavic” ceramic vessels in its larger, lower part, may indicate that the Germans changed the way the ramparts on Landeskronen were used, concentrating settlement activities in the small “citadel” on the hilltop. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that the difference in the archaeological mass material reflects social stratification in the stronghold rather than any functional changes. Nevertheless, most probably

103 This especially applies to Niedów in relation to the chronology of the spur of type II/3 according to Hilczerówna (IIA2-3U-A2 according to Wachowski), discovered there (cf. Jaworski 2005, 50–51).

the Saxons made use of a ready, existing structure, erecting or only expanding the “citadel” on the summit.

If we assume that the Milčane were the actual builders of the structure on the Landeskrone, this investment would be a clear visual expression of their dominance over the area by conquest. This idea was certainly not foreign to the Milčane, as evidenced by the location of another bipartite fortified settlement on Rotstein Mountain on the eastern edge of their native territory. In light of the studies conducted on this site in the early twentieth century (Schmidt 1909), it should be assumed that the structure was already in use before the final inclusion of Milsko into the Empire, although it is known from another sources that it also became the center of a burgward. The discovery of the silver hoard in Bischdorf at the foot of the Rotstein should likely also be connected with the activities of the people associated with this hillfort. The location of the fortification on the Rotstein even resembles the late medieval castles that so dominate the landscape and act as symbols of power of a specific political center over a particular area.¹⁰⁴ The case of the Landeskrone would be even more revealing, both in terms of the unique position of the mountain in the local topography, and, as confirmed by G. Indruszewski’s GIS analysis, its central position in relation to all of the ringforts in the former lands of the *Besunzane*.

The ringfort in Białogórze could also have functioned during the rule of the Milčane over the Nysa. In any case, it is likely that the mound cemetery there was used at that time. Furthermore, if future studies confirm the divergent chronology of the two separate clusters of mounds in Białogórze – unfortunately, this hypothesis is only based on the dating of two kurgans, one from each cluster¹⁰⁵ – it could be found that one cluster (site no. 2) was used during the period of *Besunzane* self-rule and the second, larger one (site no. 3) during the period of Milčane dominance and perhaps even later. This would mean that the Milčane took over a burial ground already used by the *Besunzane*, but established a new cemetery. Based on the currently available data, there unfortunately is no way to determine what function was performed by the group of people who buried their dead in Białogórze. The militaria finds from the cemetery suggest that they were a group of warriors, but without a separate study there is no way to tell if they were the garrison of the small ringfort in Białogórze (site no. 1) or maybe were brought to be buried there from other places.

It is likely that the ringfort in Białogórze combined a few functions for at least two reasons. First, as was already observed a few years ago by Paweł Zubrzycki but not yet excavated, the structure had an outer defensive rampart; it could therefore have served as a refuge for the local population or an encampment for an additional military

¹⁰⁴ It would not be remiss to mention here that defensive structures stood on both the Rotstein and on the Landeskrone at a much later time (the twelfth-thirteenth centuries) – the bishop’s and the king’s respectively.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. above (section 2.4.1) the note about the dating of the mound no. XI/1970.

garrison. Secondly, a structure that could possibly be a relic from the production of stone querns was discovered at a nearby settlement in Wyręba.¹⁰⁶ Thus, a structure of strategic value in need of protection existed in the area where the ringfort's garrison operated. On the other hand, traces of settlement from the ninth and tenth centuries in the area surrounding the ringfort are so scarce that it is hard to imagine that all of the communities that buried their dead in the burial ground lived nearby. This structure was most likely a frontier outpost, guarding the *Besunzane* and Milčane borderlands as well as a sacred sepulchral site and a local non-agrarian production site.

It must be stressed here that the sources upon which the above conjectures have been based are inadequate, and can only be broadened through future archaeological research. In the study of local centers of power and governance, dating the individual defensive structures would be particularly valuable. As evidenced by the discoveries of charred wood from burnt structures during past excavations of some of the ringforts, opportunities for this do exist.¹⁰⁷ However, it is highly likely that only some of the sites have material that can be dated using dendrochronology (e.g. in Koźlice, despite the preservation of parts of burnt beams there, it was not possible to prepare samples suitable for dendrochronological dating). With regard to a substantial part of the relics, until the discovery of other, equally accurate dating methods, we are condemned to further analysis of the movable finds, which do not provide comparable accuracy and certainty for the absolute chronology. In these circumstances, the existing possibilities for deductive reasoning turn out to be even more important than they already seem.

5.3 Were there any burgwards at all in Eastern Upper Lusatia? Critical remarks on the approaches of Huth and Billig

As far as we may conclude from scarce sources, the infrastructure of governance in Upper Lusatia (Milsko) under the monarchs from the Liudolfing dynasty did not generally differ from the forms known to us from the land of the Glomači (*Daleminze*), which was the core of the March of Meissen. Both Meissen and Budyšin, as the main centers of their lands, were surrounded by open settlement areas, around which lay the rings of strongholds and their burgwards – small castle districts (cf. Huth 1981, 135, *passim*; cf. Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1996, 116–116). Gerhard Billig (1989, 26–33, 107–108) was certainly right in classifying both Meissen and Budyšin as *frühe Landesburgen*, endowed with greater districts than “plain” burgward centers to which

¹⁰⁶ Cf. respective documentation in KM Görlitz, file *Stolzenberg*. On the involvement of the Milčane in the production of quernstones, see Jaworski 2005, 257.

¹⁰⁷ The discovery of well-preserved relics of charred wooden construction remains can be expected at least with respect to the ringforts in Niedów and Tylice.

the latter were subordinate. In the absence of sources, we are not able to capture the details of the contemporary structures of power and local government on the level of the main ringforts, particularly in the case of Budyšin, where the margrave did not live permanently. It can, however, be surmised that a permanent garrison of some sort was stationed in Ortenburg and that the margrave himself would mainly appear there to collect tribute and hold court.¹⁰⁸

Eastern Upper Lusatia does not quite fit the above schematic description of the “center-periphery” type, based on the coexistence of a main ringfort in a strategic place in the middle of the region and satellite ringforts located surrounding the ecumene (the centers of the burgwards). As most of what I call Eastern Upper Lusatia lies in the Nysa catchment basin, and not the Spree, and used to be divided from the “native” Milsko by a strip of forests that disappeared only during the period of colonization in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries (see Spehr 1994, 56, fn. 105; Fokt 2013a, 226), this sub-region at the turn of the eleventh century thus retained topographic separation from the immediate vicinity of Budyšin. But did this geographical distinction carry with it some consequences for the local infrastructure of governance existing in Eastern Upper Lusatia under the reign of the Liudolfings and the Piasts?

To determine whether and to what extent forms of organization introduced by the German kings and the Ekkehardines acting on their behalf in Eastern Upper Lusatia correspond to those introduced to the western part of the country (that is, the “native” Milsko), it is necessary to determine if the burgwards, i.e. ringfort districts typical of the local governance model introduced in the German marches that came into being during the time of the Liudolfings, existed in these lands. The term “burgward” denotes the areas belonging to individual ringforts, the affiliations of which were primarily related to rights and obligations, both military and economic in nature, imposed on the local population. The burgward organization can thus be considered the first division in history of the eastern lands of the Empire conquered from the Slavs into areas of a proto-administrative character (cf. Knothe 1877, 170; Schlesinger 1953, 9; Schultze 1983, 1102; Billig 1989, 12–13; Walther 1989b, 89; Rupp 1996, 22–23; Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 66). The burgwards encompassed a few to several dozen villages associated with specific ringforts that served as tribute collection points. The local population could take shelter in the burgward ringforts in times of danger,¹⁰⁹ and also were required to perform guard duty in them (cf. Schlesinger 1937/1961a, 178–179; Schultze 1983, 1101–1102; Hardt 2004, 780; Stieldorf 2012, 180–181). Being the centers of the burgwards, the ringforts did not as a rule have permanent garrisons and

¹⁰⁸ Judicial assemblies rather did not take place – at least it was not authorized by any custom – in burgward centers (Schlesinger 1937/1961a, 180).

¹⁰⁹ See especially DO I 222a (Wallhausen, 23 IV 961), the very first mention of the institution of a burgward: *Hoc instantissime iubemus ut omnes Sclavani qui ad predictas civitates confugium facere debent, annis singulis omnem addecimationem eorum plenissime ad sanctum Mauritium persolvant.*

commanders, but rather acted like frontier watchtowers (Schlesinger 1937/1961a, 181; Huth 1981, 135, *passim*).¹¹⁰ The burgwards' areas also did not have much to do with the organization of the judiciary over the population (Schlesinger 1937/1961a, 180; see also less categorical statements by Schlesinger 1953, 9). The question animatedly discussed in the literature is the issue of the origins of the institution of the burgward, and the chronology of their emergence and spread (cf. Schultze 1983; Billig 1989, 14–18; Hardt 2004, 781; Rentschler 2012, 381–383; with further ref.). From the perspective of this work, this question is not important, however, because the lands of Milsko were incorporated into the March of Meissen only at the end of the tenth century, and so the burgward organizational system arrived there as a prepared model.

Generally, the burgward organizational model was not particularly complicated. We are dealing with a system of governance of a country permanently endangered by acts of war and revolt, where the king and his margrave provide protection for the rural population behind the ramparts of the ringforts in return for tribute and sentry duty (cf. Schlesinger 1937/1961a, 178–179; Hardt 2004, 780). In fact, the idea of the burgward organization reflects the same *modus operandi* as the one presented by organized crime at present: to protect those commoners who pay the tribute and work for their overlord against external threats and the ones who do not pay. In their most basic version, the burgwards require neither a permanent garrison nor administrative apparatuses, as they are to some degree only “extensions” of the king’s arm, which was the garrison of the main ringfort of a particular area (*pagus*). In the case of Milsko, this was Budyšin (cf. Huth 1981, 135). On the other hand, this model could be extended with additional elements at any moment – such as, for example, a permanent garrison and commander (cf. Schlesinger 1937/1961a, 180–181), allodial property (cf. Schlesinger 1937/1961a, 180–181; Hardt 2008, 780) or settlements of royal colonists (cf. Schlesinger 1953, 9–10; Stieldorf 2012, 180–181; see also the remarks of Schrage 2004a, 58), depending on local needs. From the beginning of its existence, the burgward structure was also a formal, legal and geographical framework within which the German kings attained generous allodial and beneficent donations both for the Church as well as for the nobles (cf. Schlesinger 1953, 17–22).¹¹¹

In trying to decide if the application of the administrative model described here also included Eastern Upper Lusatia, it is necessary to begin from the observation that not a single burgward has been attested to in this region in the tenth–eleventh century documents, when this institution was the basis for the territorial division of

¹¹⁰ Cf. a similar intuition of Artur Boguszewicz (2000, 156) for local strongholds in Silesia, which were probably not manned with garrisons as strong as Wrocław or Opole (see also Moździoch 1990b, 75–76, 187–188, *passim*).

¹¹¹ Max Jänecke (1923, 220–221) stated that there was no frequent practice of bestowing lay persons with whole burgwards, but his arguments do not outbalance – or, actually, even rebalance – the data gathered by Schlesinger arguing for the opposite statement.

the Slavic lands subordinate to the Empire. The only complex of episcopal properties located in Eastern Upper Lusatia was also not called a burgward, as mentioned in the most important source illuminating the borders of the proprietary complexes resulting for the most part from former burgwards, the Upper Lusatian Border Charter (*Oberlausitzer Grenzurkunde*) of May 7, 1241 (CDB 4/1, no. 4).¹¹² This state of affairs laid the foundations for two different, but essentially similar, historiographical concepts that either wholly or in part deny the existence of burgwards in Eastern Upper Lusatia.

In his highly original approach to the issue of the Upper Lusatian burgwards, Joachim Huth (1981), in accordance with his earlier-outlined views (Huth 1971), ignored Eastern Upper Lusatia's historical and geographical distinctions from the "native" Milsko, parceling out most of its territory between the hypothetical burgwards with their centers situated outside of the sub-region, tentatively marked with the names Weissenberg, Melaune, Mengelsdorf and Reichenbach (Huth 1981, 158, 161). The only structure located in Eastern Upper Lusatia that this author deigned "to acknowledge" as being surrounded with its own district was the ringfort in Bratków, which he identified with the *castellum Ostrusna* mentioned in 1007 (MGH DH II, no. 124).

The problem of the administrative infrastructure in Eastern Upper Lusatia was approached differently by the author of an interdisciplinary monograph of burgward organization throughout the areas of Upper Saxony and Meissen, Gerhard Billig (1989). This author identified the *castellum Ostrusna* mentioned above with the ringfort situated on Rotstein Mountain. He stressed that this fortification and its district – according to him, identical with the burgward of Dolgowitz mentioned in the thirteenth century – was the easternmost reliably authenticated burgward, and therefore the eastern border of "native" Milsko should be simultaneously considered also the limit for the reach of burgward organization in general (Billig 1989, 18, 80–82). He did not deny the existence of ringforts in Eastern Upper Lusatia as possible administrative centers, but at the same time denied that they functioned within the organizational framework of the burgward system. This perspective was also accepted by subsequent authors (Knebel 1987, 16; Kobuch 1996, 359; Lempert 1996, 16).

Huth's and Billig's proposals, despite being based on different interpretations of the status of Eastern Upper Lusatia – Huth denies its distinctiveness from the "native" Milsko and Billig highlights this distinctiveness – are in agreement in one detail, but an important one. Both of these conceptions deny the existence of burgwards in Eastern Upper Lusatia, although Huth has made an exception for the *castellum Ostrusna* by identifying it with the ringfort on a promontory that was once called Veensberg in Bratków on the Nysa. He assumes that the greater part of Eastern Upper Lusatia was not very densely populated and could have been linked to ringforts already located

¹¹² The description of the limits of possessions included in this charter reflects the state of matters in the 1220's (see: Jecht 1919, 68–73; Huth 1981, 137–138; see also the editors' commentary in CDB IV and recently: Dannenberg 2009, 63, fn. 22).

in central part of Milsko, while Billig assumes that the entire historic territory of the *Besunzane* could have been administered in another way (the question arises as to how) but not through the institution of burgwards.

Huth's concept of areas of Eastern Upper Lusatia as being subordinate to ringforts in "native" Milsko, despite being separated from them by a watershed and band of hills (the Königshainer and Jauernicker Berge and the hills lying further south), is only an expression of the author's "wishful thinking" and cannot stand up to a confrontation with the settlement realities of the epoch to which it is related. More serious treatment should be given to Billig's hypothesis that the burgward system did not extend further than the Löbauer Wasser River, as it is supported by three arguments. First, Billig pointed out the convergence of the furthest southeastern mention of an undoubted burgward in Upper Lusatia, Dolgowitz, with the former eastern boundary of Milčane. Secondly, he drew attention to the broader context, noting that the area subject to Saxon military hegemony was wider than the area organized in the marches and divided into burgwards. Thirdly, he raised the hypothesis that the lack of obligations for episcopal villages situated in Zagozd to participate in the building of the margraval ringforts, which is known from the document of King Conrad III of 1144 (MGH DK III 119), was probably due to the lack of burgward organization in those areas (the participation of people in the building and upkeep of the ringforts was among the pillars of that organization). Incidentally, in light of earlier and newer studies, the third argument is even stronger than Billig thought whilst writing his monograph, since the name "Zagozd" probably not only meant the southeastern edge of the current Upper Lusatia, but the entire eastern part of the country (cf. Gierach 1935; Fokt 2013a).

To assess the strength of the arguments put forward by Billig, it is necessary to point out that none of them is a zero-sum opinion not allowing for other interpretations than those put forward by the author. Furthermore, two of them are based on unlikely conclusions. Starting with a discussion of the first argument suggesting that the convergence of the eastern border of Milsko with the southeastern extent of the written sources on burgwards that can be considered certain or very likely – this can surely only be the result of coincidence. In arguing otherwise, Billig creates what one could call a self-fulfilling prophecy, according to which since the certain mentions of burgwards ended at Dolgowitz, one should not even bother looking for hypothetical burgwards further east. This is a classic example of the error of *petitio principii*. Furthermore, it is less likely that the former border of the Milčane and *Besunzane* could still have been of political importance – rather than only in terms of settlements – around 990–1000 for the simple reason that the two territories were already a single political organism before they were incorporated into Ekkehard I's march.

The second argument is also not conclusive. Furthermore, the exceptionally pertinent counterexample of a castle in Niemcza and its burgward can be placed against it. This *casus* deserves so much attention and, from the point of view of the pragmatics of administration and anthropogeography, it is an excellent analogy for

Eastern Upper Lusatia for two reasons. First of all, the microregion of Niemcza (today the ringfort in Polanowice, in Krosno Odrzańskie county in Poland) is located directly north of Eastern Upper Lusatia at a similar distance from the centers of power of the Liudolfings and their margraves. Secondly, like Eastern Upper Lusatia, the area of Niemcza was located in the Nysa River Valley and geographically distinct from Lusatia (later: Lower Lusatia) itself, spread out – like Milsko – in the Spree river valley. In relation to Niemcza, the Liudolfings thus faced an identical problem as in Eastern Upper Lusatia: how to organize the administration of a small region located in the distant reaches of the land. In the case of Niemcza, this dilemma was resolved by adapting the burgward organizational model for the purposes of administering the region (cf. Schrage 1999, 228–229), as clearly attested by the charter of Otto III issued for the monastery in Nienburg an der Saale on May 1st, 1000 (MGH DO III, no. 359).¹¹³

The analogy of Niemcza is undoubtedly a strong one, as there were no reasons why the kings of Germany would employ other standards of governance than the proven and flexible burgward system to Eastern Upper Lusatia, located directly south of the Niemcza burgward. There are perhaps two counterarguments against this analogy, however. Firstly, it should be taken into account that the Niemcza region was strategically located directly on the route leading from Saxony to Poland. Therefore, extending the burgward system to these particular frontiers of the German sphere of influence was more likely in this region than in the lands of Eastern Upper Lusatia, through which not even the transcontinental route of Magdeburg – Krakow – Kiev passed at the time, but rather only a route leading through the Sudetes to Bohemia, and not even the most important one. Secondly, it should be kept in mind that the conquest of Lower Lusatia by Margrave Gero took place nearly 30 years before the incorporation of Milsko by Ekkehard I. Both of these counterarguments seem weak if the circumstances of the inclusion of Milsko into the march of Ekkehard are taken into account. The Margrave of Meissen not only occupied the country that already was highly organized by local power centers (cf. above, Chapter 3), but also seized it in a conflict situation with the Přemyslids. It is thus unlikely that the experienced and energetic count left the passage through the Sudetes, the Zittau Gate, unguarded by organizing fortifications in the conquered lands and maintaining ringforts that served as the parts of the burgward system.

Billig's third argument, the strongest because it is based directly on a written source, banks on the likely (although not obvious) assumption that the obligation of episcopal subjects in "native" Milsko to build and restore the fortifications of the ringfort in Budyšin resulted from the transformation (reliution) of the duties once imposed on them as inhabitants of particular burgwards, donated to the episcopal

¹¹³ The document is known only from a copy from the archive in Zerbst, which includes minor interpolations, but there is no doubt that there existed an original charter of Otto III mentioning the *Niempsi* burgward.

church of Meissen (DK III, no. 119). Therefore, the lack of such obligations for the subjects of Bishop Meinward in Zagozd in 1144 was regarded by Gehard Billig as evidence that the burgward system did not exist in this area. This is not, however, the only possible explanation, given that Eastern Upper Lusatia (which was hidden under the name Zagozd, cf. Gierach 1935; Fokt 2013a) just before 1144 was governed by a different ruler than the “native” Milsko and therefore the services owed from the population of the burgwards simply could not be transferred to the ringfort in Budyšin. Moreover, the inhabitants of the bishop’s villages in Zagozd could have performed fortification works on some episcopal fortresses that were former burgward centers or took over their functions and services and thus there was no need for the reluition of the population’s obligations to any other ringforts. In the absence of sources, there is no way to determine which of the examples described actually took place, but *a limine* there is no way to rule out any of them. How diverse the solutions applied to the issue of these local obligations were is evidenced by comparing the three relevant clauses from the appropriate document for the different regions: Milsko, land of Nižane (*Nisan*) and Zagozd. For each of them, the set of public services rendered to the episcopal villages was different, involving either guarding or building ringforts (Milsko), neither (*Nisan*), or performing sentry duties but not building fortifications (Zagozd). It thus appears that the differences in the given obligations between the particular complexes of episcopal estates did not result from the existence or non-existence of burgwards in the individual regions, but from the different privileges for the episcopal properties in each. The total of three chambers in the Budyšin ringfort that the inhabitants of the episcopal villages were to erect thus suspiciously coincides with the total of three burgwards that the Bishopric of Meissen received in 1007, which again would mean that the reluition of work obligations for constructing burgward fortifications to a similar obligation related to Budyšin could not even have applied to all of the bishopric’s domains in Milsko “proper”, but only to the three burgwards located in the southwestern part of this region (cf. below, section 5.4.1). Finally – last but not least – it was argued above (sub-chapters 3.1–2) that the formal status of Eastern Upper Lusatia changed after it was pillaged by the Czech troops in 1015 and regained by the German King Conrad II in 1031, which could, or even must have resulted in the burgwards being dissolved. The possibility of dissolution of the burgwards in Eastern Upper Lusatia yet before the mid-eleventh century does not, however, allow one to automatically deny their existence around the year 1000.

Meanwhile, one cannot see reasons that Eastern Upper Lusatia would have been organized differently than the other frontiers of Milsko. In this context, there are convincing, common sense voices from those scholars who affirm that since there was a large number of ringforts in Eastern Upper Lusatia, the burgward system was also introduced there, but this is not reflected directly in the very few written sources (cf. Knothe 1877, 173; Richthofen 2004, 17). Looking at the problem from this perspective, it should be recognized that without several burgwards being given to the Bishopric of Meissen, which was arranged with documents attesting to its right to

these regions, we could reject the existence of this system of governance throughout Upper Lusatia as a whole with the same success that Billig rejected the reasons for the existence of burgwards in Eastern Upper Lusatia. The important circumstances, already mentioned in sub-chapters 3.1 and 4.1, should also not be forgotten, namely, the significant depopulation of Eastern Upper Lusatia after 1015 and the resulting far-reaching destruction of the local structures of power and governance.

In light of the above deductions, it seems that Gerhard Billig, in discussing the problem of the south-easternmost extent of the burgward system, discovered not what analysis of the sources told him, but what he wanted to discover. It can be assumed that his reluctance to look for burgwards east of the Löbauer Wasser could have been influenced by circumstances beyond the content.¹¹⁴ Whatever motivations drove this author, one thing is certain: in the case of Eastern Upper Lusatia, he ceased following his own research procedures, which had been applied successfully to the other regions he discussed, when looking for hypothetical burgwards. There remains, therefore, nothing else but to try and bridge the gap created by Gerhard Billig in his work and conduct a search in Eastern Upper Lusatia for burgwards that were never directly mentioned in contemporary sources. The interdisciplinary research agenda created and used to rather good result by Billig (1989) for the territories located further west will aid this search.

5.4 Attempting to identify the Ottonic burgwards

The starting point for a search for supposed burgwards in Eastern Upper Lusatia should be, as in the case of the Budyšin area, an analysis of the appropriate records from the so-called Upper Lusatian Border Charter of 1241. This is more advisable because – as correctly pointed out by Max Jänecke (1923, 26) nearly a century ago – the text of this document overtly shows that burgwards existed in both parts of Milsko related to in this charter, in the lands of Budyšin and in Zagozd (i.e. in the western and eastern parts of the country). In any case, the narration of this document unambiguously states that the commissioners who demarcated the boundaries of the complexes belonging to the Bishopric of Meissen and the Bohemian crown, earlier *burguardos terrarum ipsarum uniformiter distinxerunt*, leaving no doubt that, in the

¹¹⁴ As the lands being written about were incorporated into Poland in 1945, studying their past too eagerly could put an author writing in the GDR in danger of accusations of revisionism. However, this supposition would probably go too far in this case, as Billig not only made efforts to acquaint himself with the results of studies conducted in Poland and Czechoslovakia (cf. Billig 1989, 9, *passim*), but he also commented in his book about the ringforts in the Polish part of Upper Lusatia, mentioning by name the structures in Sulików, Bratków and Niedów (Billig 1989, 81–82).

opinion of the participants in these events, there were property complexes identifiable as burgwards both in *Budesin* and in *Zagost*.

It is impossible, of course, to exclude the possibility that the term *burgward* in the document of 7 May 1241 does not cover administrative areas from the time of the Saxon (the Liudolfings) or even the Salian dynasties, but the so-called “younger burgwards” (cf. Billig 1989, 17) created only at a later time. An example of such a structure mentioned in the Upper Lusatian Border Charter would be the suspected burgward of Kamenz, which is adjacent to an equally young creation – the episcopal estate complex with its center in Prietitz that belonged to the Bishopric of Meissen only from 1160 (cf. CDS 2–1, nos. 54, 56). At the same time, however, the borders described in the protocols noted down in this diploma included territorial-proprietorial complexes located further west that are identified with great certainty with three burgwards given to the Bishopric of Meissen by Henry II in 1007,¹¹⁵ as well as the burgward of Seitschen belonging to the royal demesne. Undoubtedly, this also includes the Dolgowitz complex spread around the ringfort on the Rotstein. Is it therefore possible that the episcopal estate complexes located in Eastern Upper Lusatia owe their rise to the obtaining of burgwards – or areas of dissolved burgwards – by the bishopric?

5.4.1 The Southeast: Bratków vs. Niedów

To answer this question, it is necessary to determine, at least approximately, the boundaries of the relevant episcopal estate complexes and ascertain if they contain areas potentially corresponding to the former districts with relics of ringforts that functioned in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It should be kept in mind that these are not the old borders of the burgwards, which were well known to the interested parties and respected by them, but boundaries running through unpopulated or only colonized areas that were the main subjects of interest for the Upper Lusatian Border Charter.¹¹⁶ Despite this, as demonstrated by Max Jänecke (1923) and creatively developed by Gerhard Billig (1989), a careful historical-settlement analysis of the meticulously described border protocols allows for the reproduction of the “solid core” of each of the settlement-proprietorial complexes described in the document, from which this colonization sprang.

¹¹⁵ This takes into account the possibility that between 1007 and the 1220s there could have occurred changes in ownership but not the number of burgwards possessed by the bishopric in this part of the country (cf. here below, sub-chapt. 5.3).

¹¹⁶ Cf. CDB 4, no. 4: *In quibusdam autem locis, ubi lymites contra terram Budesin se extendunt, distinctionis mencio necessaria non fuit, quia ea antiquitas obtinebat. Extremitates vero propter novalia, quae dubium generant, sunt distinctę.*

An exception to this seems to be the episcopal estate complex located in Eastern Upper Lusatia whose boundaries have been defined in the border protocols marked by Alfred Meiche (1908) with the symbols Ia and Ib. In later interpretations authored by two of the most scrupulous and faithful interpreters of the border protocols contained in the document of King Wenceslaus I of 7 May 1241, Alfred Meiche (1908) and his follower Max Jänecke (1923), which have been broadly adopted by scholars,¹¹⁷ the routes of Ia and Ib described in the protocols do not create a single compact whole, unlike what took place in the case of the other episcopal and royal holdings. According to Meiche, the line described in Protocol Ia would have constituted the northern border of the episcopal territories, whose southern limit was not drawn out, while Protocol Ib would be the border of the Eigensche Kreis, originally the territory of the bishopric, located in the Pliessnitz river basin. Such a course of the border lines – accepted, though for no apparent reason, by most scholars – remains in flagrant contradiction, however, to the source text, where it is clear that the border described in Protocol Ia runs from the Nysa to the east, *contra Poloniam*, and is then interrupted on the Kwisza due to the lack of delimitation between Zagózd and Silesia; the border line is then picked up by the next segment (Ib) *contra Bohemiam*, closing the entire description from the south by ending after crossing the Nysa on the left bank of that river. The entire description is ended by the phrase *Omnia limitibus his inclusa sunt Misnensis episcopi*, which unambiguously demonstrates that protocols Ia and Ib were a single border line surrounding the episcopal territory.¹¹⁸

Among the scholars involved in interpreting the content of these border protocols only Joachim Huth saw the full extent of the incompatibility of Meiche's idea that protocols Ia and Ib should be considered the description of the borders of two distinct holdings of the bishopric of Meissen with the source text (Huth 1971, 197, *passim*). This author also proposed his own interpretation of the course of these boundaries, which is more coherent and consistent with the tenor of the source. With minor changes, he repeated the course of the border from Protocol Ia known from the works of Meiche and Jänecke; then he began the course of the border from Protocol Ib in the Jezeria Mountains to finish it on the left bank of the Nysa (Huth 1971, 195–198; Huth 1981, 154–156). The area covered by Huth in drawing these borders is large, but contains a significant portion of the land that in the thirteenth century had only just become an object for colonization. The “core” of the old settlements in this area was not particularly large: these would have covered only parts of the Nysa and Witka/Smědá valleys. This area contains at least two ringforts dating from the tenth to eleventh centuries in Bratków and Niedów. Was one of them a center for a burgward?

¹¹⁷ Most frequently quoted new paper on the Upper Lusatian Border Charter is the work of Christine Klecker (1997), who generally repeated the results of Meiche (1908).

¹¹⁸ Cf. additional arguments in: Fokt 2013a, 228–230.

Without a moment's hesitation, Joachim Huth demonstrated in this context that the ringfort in Bratków was, which he identified as the *castellum Ostrusna* given to the bishopric in 1007. This interpretation is so seductive because the name *Ostrusna* (<Ostrožna) closely corresponds with the oldest records of the name Ostritz dating from the years 1241–1243 (CDB 4/1, nos. 9, 12, 23, 45: *Oztrosen, Oztrozn, Ostros, Ostrose*), which is the name of a town today and originally was carried by a certain village (today Ostritz-Altstadt), located opposite the early medieval ringfort in Bratków (cf. Schuster-Šewc 2006, 67–68). This is why the identification of *Ostrusna* with Bratków has been widely accepted by scholars (cf. i.a.: Seeliger 1926–27, 42; Kurka 1967, 4; Eichler, Walther 1975, 217; Blaschke 1990, 72; Schrage 2004a, 57–58; Richthofen 2004, 17; see also the cautious remarks of Dannenberg 2009a, 174–175). The 1007 document contains, however, certain information that *a limine* rules out identifying the ringfort in Bratków with the *castellum Ostrusna*. In light of this document, the *castella* given to the Bishopric of Meissen were *adiacentia*, i.e. located next to one another.¹¹⁹ They thus must have been located on the western edge of Upper Lusatia, near the only reliably identified one of the three – Göda.

This interpretation is in agreement with the picture produced by the historical-geographical studies based on data analyses of the Upper Lusatian Border Charter. In light of their results, the episcopal holdings in the southwest of Upper Lusatia drawn in 1241 most likely came from the three burgwards, including the estate complex defined in the document as *Godowe* (i.e. Göda), which probably contained the territories of two of them (cf. Meiche 1908, 215; Jänecke 1923, 105; Billig 1989, 76–77). Here is not the place to discuss the complex and long-debated question of which of the western burgwards of Upper Lusatia should be identified with the ones mentioned in 1007 as *Trebista* and *Ostrusna*. The more difficult question, if only due to the changes in the region's political affiliation, is whether ringfort districts could change between the rulers and the episcopate in the eleventh century. From the perspective of this work, it is important that all of the *tria castella* given to the Bishopric of Meissen in 1007 were located in the southwestern part of Milsko, and the number of burgwards possessed by the Meissen Church in this sub-region did not change until the thirteenth century. This does not, however, mean – as it is often stated after Alfred Meiche (1908, 150) – that in the thirteenth century these were the same ringfort districts that were received by the Bishopric in 1007. Nevertheless, Henry II's document of 1007 should be excluded from the list of direct sources on Eastern Upper Lusatia, as most probably it concerns only the western part of Milsko.

¹¹⁹ Cf. here Indruszewski 2010, 137–138. Many thanks to Dr. George Indruszewski for drawing my attention to the adverbial participle *adiacentia*, which is very important in this context.



Figure 5.2: Bipartite ringfort in Bratków (site no. 1) viewed from SW. Photo by K. Fokt, 2014.

There is another important circumstance against identifying the *castellum Ostrusna* with the ringfort in Bratków. Besides the 1007 document, which, as indicated above, does not apply to Eastern Upper Lusatia, there is a notable lack of any evidence that would suggest that the episcopal holdings could have ever included the Bratków region. On the contrary, since only Bratków and its surroundings, i.e. the later *Ostritz* domain (*Herrschaft*), were entered into the pages of the sources, their overlords were not the Bishops of Meissen but rather the Bohemian kings (cf. Meiche 1908, 148; Jänecke 1923, 193; Billig 1989, 79; Belling 2003, 16; Schrage 2004b, 37). This state of affairs should also be presented in the Upper Lusatia Border Charter, made in 1241 based on the protocols documenting the established borders drawn in the 1220s – either in 1223 (R. Jeht 1919, 68–73) or 1228 (Huth 1981, 137–138). During this period, the entire demesne of Ostritz was possessed by vassals of the Bohemian kings, which is directly attested to in documents from 1234 (CDB III, no. 86) and 1241 (CDB 4/1, no. 9).¹²⁰ In this case, however, the final segment of the border route described in Protocol Ib, which ran along the *Kameniza* Stream, should be considered identical to the northern border of the royal holdings of Ostritz, i.e. the division of Ostritz and Leuba by the Steinbach Stream (see similar interpretations by Meiche 1908, 162–163).¹²¹

One could guess that the earlier segment of the border described in Protocol Ib must also have run at least similarly to the northeastern edge of the demesne of Ostritz, though not necessarily in the manner identifiable with the still-extant village limits.¹²² The task for determining its exact direction goes well beyond the thematic

¹²⁰ The legal situation was thus unclear, because besides the Burgraves of Dohna being in feudal possession of the whole domain, the hereditary *scultetia* (*villicatio*) of Ostritz was held by a family of local *villici* independently, as a fief granted directly by the king (cf. Fokt 2013b).

¹²¹ The content of this German hydronym – ‘stone stream’ – corresponds exactly with the meaning hidden by the Slavic name **Kaměnica*. Other propositions identifying the *Kameniza* Stream are referenced in Fokt 2013a, 229, fn. 31–33.

¹²² In this case, hidden under the hydronyms *Koren* and *Rokitouikeren* could be the streams running along the northern borders of Krzewina and by the dwellings of the village of Ręczyn.

framework of this work concerning, at any rate, the history of local governance and not settlement history. From this perspective, it is important only that the ringfort in Bratków remained outside the borders of the episcopal holdings that were charted in Protocol Ib of the Upper Lusatian Border Charter and the ringfort in Niedów was inside them. In this case, it is in the latter where one should look for the center of the territory of the Bishops of Meissen (cf. Fokt 2013a, 232–233).

In a stroke of luck, it is in Niedów that, thanks to the numerous findings of militaria and elements of riding equipment, one can find a relatively precisely dated ringfort from early medieval Eastern Upper Lusatia. Based on the available archaeological information, the second phase of its use could thus likely date back to the time period of c. 990/1000–1031 (cf. Jaworski 2005, 50–51). The precision of the archaeological time stamps is unfortunately not sufficient to determine when the hillfort in Niedów (site no. 1), already mentioned in this book in the discussion of the history of the *Besunzane*, regained its defensive value. It seems most likely that this took place directly after the occupation of Milsko by Ekkehard I, but that does not rule out other possibilities. It is also difficult to date exactly when the use of the hillfort in Niedów ended; theoretically, this could have been already in 1015, at the same time as the burning of the stronghold on the Landeskrona, but the dating of spurs found in Niedów and classified as type II/3 according to Hilczarówna (IIA2-3U-A2 according to Wachowski) suggests that the Niedów stronghold could also have been destroyed later, perhaps even in the mid-eleventh century. The discovery of a strongly fortified and defensively-located hillfort in Niedów demonstrates that an armed garrison prepared for a long siege was stationed there, having at their disposal water source (a well) and considerable stockpiles of grain;¹²³ additionally, this structure was equipped with a second, less defensive part (the so-called “borough”) which perhaps acted as a shelter.

Dating to the heyday of the burgward system, this ringfort provides us with a confirmation of one of the five characteristics whose presence were proposed by Gerhard Billig (1989, 157 and *Beilage* 3) as criteria helping to identify established and hypothetical burgwards.¹²⁴ In the case of Niedów, we can speak of the presence of one of these characteristics at the highest level (2.1.: *Dem Burgward entsprechender Burgwall, gesichert*), i.e. of the existence of a ringfort dating to the time when the burgward system was flourishing as well as showing elements typical for burgward centers: strong fortifications and a bipartite layout (cf. Billig 1989, 19–20). In the

¹²³ During excavations in Niedów in 1970, two bark containers with more than 100 kg of burnt grains each were discovered (cf. Pyrgała, Gajewski 1970, 190).

¹²⁴ I have arrived here after the set of criteria formalized by this author for the use in one of one of the illustrative appendices (*Beilage* 3). Like Billig, in the case of indirect proof for a village to belong to a ringfort district (3.2), in Point 3 I have inserted the value “- (minus)”, but in Point 5 “+ (plus)”. See Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

absence of direct source references about the Niedów burgward or about the Niedów ringfort district, we cannot fulfill the first criterion in the method proposed by Billig, i.e. a written confirmation of the ringfort and its district (1.3: *Erwähnungen fehlen*).

The starting inference point of whether the suspected ringfort district in Niedów fulfills any further criteria as enumerated by Billig allowing for the reconstruction of a historic burgward should be Point 4 in his typology, i.e. the presence of a proto-parish church (*Urkirche*). In the scholarly tradition for the lands mentioned in this work, this term is understood as the oldest parish church, distinguished by a particularly large area subject to their pastoral care (proto-parish, Ger. *Ursprengel*) and often a particularly large endowment (cf. Schlesinger 1962, 153–154, 155; Billig 1989, 46–47) that often took the form of an entire village (Ger. *Dorfdos*; cf. Schmidt 1938, 8–12; Schlesinger 1962, 155–156).¹²⁵ In Upper Lusatia, these proto-parishes with a church founded in the eleventh or, at latest, in the twelfth centuries were undoubtedly Budyšin and Göda in the west and central parts of the country as well as Jauernick in its eastern part (cf. Schlesinger 1962, 208–209). Joachim Huth (1962, 32–34) also added to this list the parish church in Niedów, pointing out the considerable size of the area belonging to this parish as well as its rich endowment.



Figure 5.3: Parish church and hillfort (site no. 1) in Niedów, viewed from SE. Photo by K. Fokt, 2014.

¹²⁵ These proto-churches should not be, however, automatically identified with the churches situated in the centers of burgwards (which was still obvious for H.F. Schmid 1938, 8, *passim*); cf. Schlesinger 1952, 353–354; Schlesinger 1962, 153–154.

The issue of the origins of the Niedów parish and its original area has never received a more comprehensive analysis since C.G.T. Neumann (1859, 246–247) wrote several paragraphs on them in his text on the history of the village of Wilka. Unfortunately, the meritorious researcher of the history of Eastern Upper Lusatia, Pastor Richard Doehler, did not manage to publish his *Diplomatarium Niedense* and Walter Schlesinger in the first volume of his *Kirchengeschichte Sachsens im Mittelalter* did not take into account the areas located in Poland, and thus Neumann's text remains today the foundation on which later research is based (see Huth 1962, 32–34; Bena 2003, 305). The issue of the origins of the Niedów parish thus undoubtedly requires revisiting, taking into consideration the broadest possible source database, including modern manuscripts today preserved in the special collections of the University of Wrocław Library. Regardless of this, at the present stage of the research, a number of factors can be assembled that allow us to conclude that the church in Niedów occupied a no less prominent position in Eastern Upper Lusatia than that which has been conclusively confirmed of the church in Jauernick. Although it is not even known if the church in Niedów was ever given the entire village (*Dorfdos*), its endowment otherwise was quite rich (cf. Neumann 1859, 246).¹²⁶ There is also no doubt as to the particularly large size of the historic Niedów parish.

The original reach of the Niedów parish, reconstructed retrospectively, is in principle identical with the area of the oldest Slavic settlement of Eastern Upper Lusatia to the east of the Nysa with the exception of the archaeologically-confirmed settlement exclaves around Białogórze and Pieńsk/Lasów, but with the stronghold on the western bank of the river encompassing the villages of Leuba and Nikrisch. This area is almost a mirror image of the proto-parish in Jauernick, occupying the entire area of the old settlements in the former lands of the *Besunzane* west of the Nysa (see Fig. 5.4). It thus appears that in Eastern Upper Lusatia there existed two protoparishes erected in the eleventh or early twelfth centuries – in Niedów for the episcopal demesne and in Jauernick for the secular one. Thus, the parish church in Niedów is worthy in every respect of being designated as a proto-parish, but without endowments in the form of the entire village (according to Billig 1989, 157: 4.2: *Nachweis einer Urkirche am Burgwardmittelpunkt: Ohne Dorfdos, zugehöriger Sprengel, Filialkirchen*).

¹²⁶ A trace of it has even been preserved in the area separated from Niedów in 1617 (cf. Doehler 1907, 108, fn. 1; Huth 1962, 32) for the parish in Radomierzyce; cf. the cadastral map with a scale 1:4000, *Gemarkung Radmeritz Nr 84*, Blatt 1, APWr., Bolesławiec branch, fond “Urząd Katastralny w Zgorzelcu” (Katasteramt Görlitz), archival unit no. 814, plot no. 4.

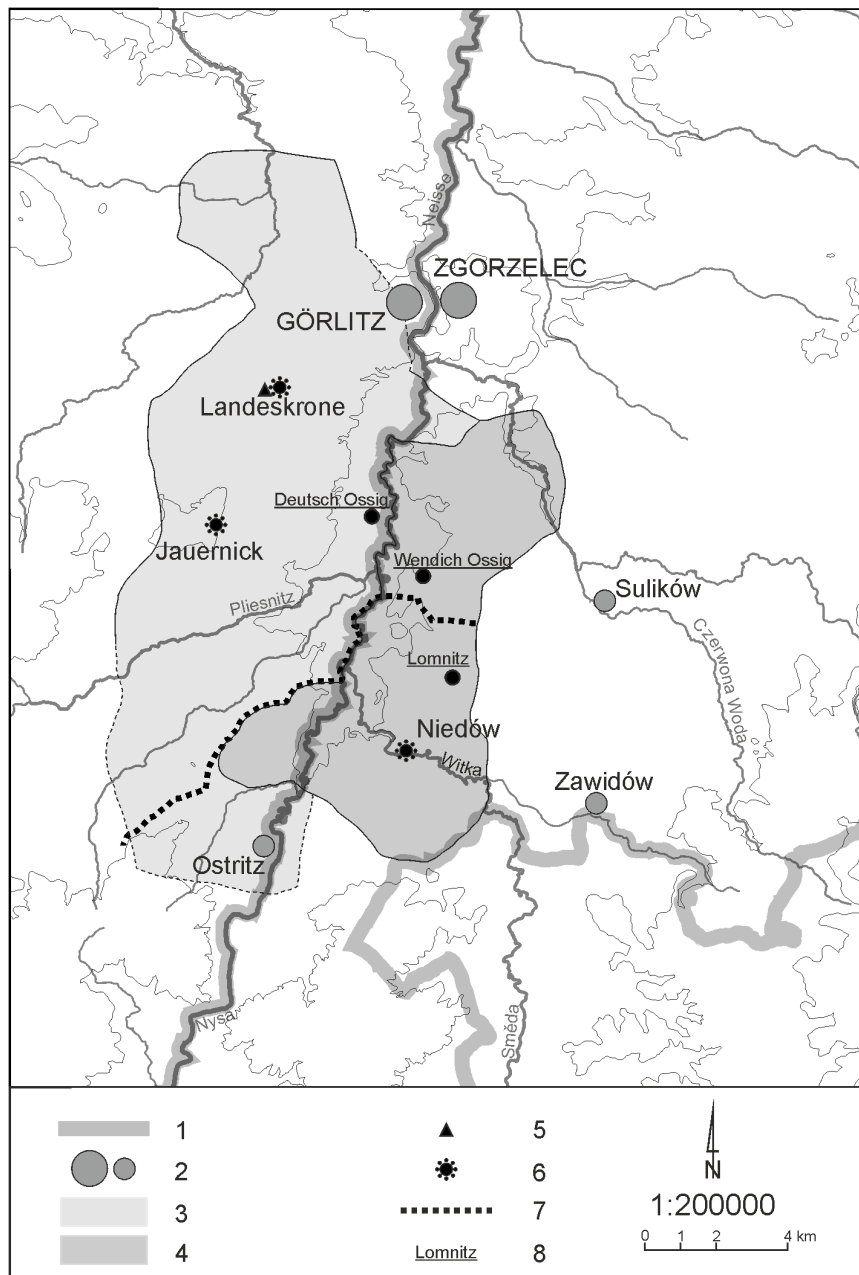


Figure 5.4: The proto-parishes of Jauernick and Niedów. Designed by K. Fokt, drawn by Janusz Szyszka. 1. Contemporary state borders. 2. Present towns. 3. Proto-parish Jauernick. 4. Proto-parish Niedów. 5. Landeskrona mountain. 6. Ringforts in Niedów, Jauernick and on Landeskrona. 7. Presumed original limit of ringfort districts Niedów and Landeskrona. 8. Place names indicating existence of a border zone between the presumed ringfort districts.

The extraordinary extent of the Niedów parish is not only a factor supporting the proto-parish character of this church, but also it indicates the previous existence of a district connected with the Niedów hillfort. The very existence of the proto-parish in the indicated borders, occupying an old settlement area, is not yet evidence for the existence of a ringfort district. This evidence, however, is the agreement of this range with the borders of the holdings of a certain landowner, in this case, the Bishopric of Meissen. The conclusion of this results from analysis of the 1241 Upper Lusatian Border Charter, which has already been mentioned several times, and specifically the border protocol designated by Alfred Meiche (1908) with the symbol Ia (*contra Poloniam*). Similarly, in regard to the southern progression of this border, for the considerations contained in this chapter much less significance is held by the eastern, most accurately described, section of this border's course, ending at the Kwisza River; its primary importance is held by its beginning at the Nysa.

Almost all previous studies on the course of the border described in Protocol Ia are based on two assumptions: 1) that the border began *a Niza*, i.e. at the Nysa, starting in the area of Radomierzyce and Osiek Łużycki, and 2) it ran further *quasi per directum*, i.e. roughly directly east. Therefore, the entire route of the delimitation line was located by most scholars too far to the south, being generally identified with the northern border of the Niedów and Zawidów parishes (cf. Schönwälder 1878, 297–304; Meiche 1908, 153–163; Jänecke 1923, 171; Seeliger 1926–27, 43–45; Knebel 1965, 22; Huth 1971, 196–197; Huth 1981, 155–156; Martynowski, Mazurski 1985, 17–22; with further ref.). While it is difficult not to agree with the second assumption, i.e. to interpret the designation *quasi per directum* as something other than “perpendicularly to the Nysa River”, it is assumption one that raises some doubts, as it is based purely on onomastic factors that can be interpreted in different ways.¹²⁷

The primacy in determining the route of the borders marked in the Upper Lusatian Border Charter should meanwhile fall to historical factors instead of topographical or toponymical ones. These unambiguously exclude the border route for the line described in Protocol Ia proposed by most scholars, at least its western section. According to document by Henry, the Bishop of Meissen, of September 22, 1234 (CDS 2-1, no. 117), the dominion of the bishopric in Eastern Upper Lusatia embraced not only areas around Zawidów, but also territories lying a few kilometers to the north, in the catchment basin of Czerwona Woda. In light of the quoted document, Sulików, then held by the episcopal *fidelis*, Zdzisław von Schönberg (*Schoninberc*), should certainly have been under the authority of the bishop. Most authors miss this, and if it is not missed (as Seeliger 1926–27, 44–45; Huth 1981, 159), the appropriate conclusions

¹²⁷ We are talking here about the name for the villages of Deutsch- and Wendisch- Ossig, which should have originated from *osĕk, i.e. the strengthening of a border with felled trees (see Dickers, Hardt 1998, 194–199 and lately Wenzel 2014b, 396), as well as about the name for a meadow located in Osiek Łużycki that sounds like *Königswiese*, “the royal meadow” (Meiche 1908, 154–155).

are not drawn out from this fact (Seeliger 1926–27, 45; Huth 1981, 155; cf. Fokt 2013a, 228, fn. 27). It seems, nevertheless, that the northern border of the bishop's holdings in the thirteenth century ran further to the north than what is usually considered, specifically to the north of Sulików.

Without delving too deeply here into the course of this border line, which will be analyzed in depth in a later section of this work (see below, sub-chapter 5.6), it should be noted that all of the localities, perhaps with the exception of the northernmost ones, originally belonging to the Niedów parish in its oldest known range were located south of it. The northern border of the bishop's holdings marked in the Upper Lusatian Border Charter includes also areas that never belonged to the Niedów parish, such as the villages of Rudzica and Studniska, which in the Middle Ages already had their own parish churches.¹²⁸ Similar comments can be directed towards Protocol Ib, which defined the borderline of the episcopal holdings from the south and also contained old and new settlements. This is in accordance with the idea behind the border protocols approved in 1241, which were not related to the borders that were well-known and respected by the interested parties in the old settlement areas but demarcated the *extremities, quae dubium generant* – lands that were only colonized in the thirteenth century. It is in any case clear that the old settlement area extending around Niedów was not only the core of the parish, but also the center of the bishop's holdings. Both of these factors support the assumption that it was the Niedów ringfort district that gave rise to the holdings of the bishops of Meissen in Eastern Upper Lusatia, which allows for their classification into Billig's category 3.2 (3.2: *Nachweis zum Burgward zugehöriger Orte: Nachweis auf anderer Ebene*).

In searching for further elements in Billig's outline indicating the existence of a burgward around Niedów, the settlement conditions should be examined. Archaeology helps in this regard only to a limited extent for the simple reason that the surface findings of pottery fragments, which make up the majority of the known traces of old settlements in Eastern Upper Lusatia, do not offer sufficient chronological precision. Even attempting to circumvent this obstacle by only taking into account those finds dating from the ninth-tenth/eleventh centuries typical of the so-called middle-Slavic pottery, does not solve the problem of the lack of chronological precision because the burgwards in Eastern Upper Lusatia were introduced only at the end of this period – and contemporary precision for archaeological dating that eliminate older sites from this group is impossible.

At the same time, it is difficult to avoid the impression that both the spread of the early medieval archaeological relics as well as the area dominated by Slavic place names and archaic forms of rural settlement planning and the measuring out of their fields outline a rather clear picture of one fairly compact settlement area extending

¹²⁸ With regard to Studniska, it is worth mentioning that the local church is one of the few Romanesque ones in the region (cf. Kozaczewski 1994, 23, 201–204).

along the Nysa and its tributaries, roughly from Tylice, Koźlice, and Jauernick in the north to Leuba and Radomierzyce in the south. As is clear from the range of the Niedów parish and the episcopal estates, the entire settlement area of the Witka River Valley and part of the Nysa valley certainly belonged to the hypothetical castle district of Niedów ringfort. The area of Bratków and Ostritz, extending directly south of Leuba and Ręczyn (once belonging to the Niedów parish) seems detached from this core. As for the northern part of the Niedów parish and bishop's estate, their original relationship with the Niedów hillfort cannot be seen as certain. The areas of Tylice and Kunów are located in the Czerwona Woda catchment basin, not the Witka, and were separated from the Niedów region by a watershed that is still partially forested today. The villages established in this area – Osiek and Łomnica – bear names that indicate the existence of artificial communication blockades typical for frontier areas.¹²⁹ The supposed border strip that can be drawn based on these toponyms would extend all the way to the Nysa, separating Radomierzyce and Nikrisch from Tylice, Koźlice and Kunów.

It is therefore probable that originally only settlements from the Witka river valley (today in Poland and the Czech Republic) and the Nysa river valley – Radomierzyce, Leuba, Nikrisch, and perhaps also Ostritz-Altstadt – were associated with Niedów. Even in the most pessimistic version, however, where there are no manors around Zawidów (probably established later) or the Ostritz area, the “solid core” of the supposed Niedów ringfort district would have encompassed nine villages with Slavic names in the Witka and Nysa river valleys – or eleven, if one counts Loučna and Sář in the Czech Republic. This would be an area most suitable for a burgward at least when the standards for Upper Lusatia are applied, where ringfort districts were much more densely located and smaller than those on the Elbe (cf. Billig 1989, 79, 108, *passim*; Billig 1995, 57–62). A rather similar image was obtained by Alfred Meiche (1908), Max Jänecke (1923), Joachim Huth (1981) and Gerhard Billig (1989, 78–80) for the smaller burgwards in Milsko: Doberschau, Seitschen and, in particular, Dolgowitz. Thus, we can safely assume that the microregion of Niedów also meets the fifth criterion defined by Billig to help identify burgward remnants: the historical-settlement criterion (5: *Siedlungskundliche und historisch-topographische Grenzverhältnisse*).

Table 5.1: An attempt of identifying possible features of a burgward for the episcopal estates around Niedów, according to the system proposed by Gerhard Billig (1989).

Feature no. after Billig 1989, 157	1	2	3	4	5
Presence of the features	–	+	–	+	+
Detailed code in the system of Billig	1.3	2.1	3.2	4.2	

¹²⁹ In this case, this rather unambiguously can be understood as the name Ossig/Osiek; the content hidden under the toponym of Łomnitz/Łomnica cannot be subject to an equally unambiguous interpretation, but it seems also probable (cf. Wenzel 2014b, 394–395).

Summarizing the deductions above, it can be concluded that a burgward existed at some point in Niedów, although not with complete confidence, as there are no direct mentions in the primary sources. However, the Niedów microregion fulfills the majority of the criteria set out by Billig for hypothetical burgwards (cf. Table 5.1). Furthermore, the possible Niedów burgward fulfills the criteria more completely than some of the burgwards located to the west of the Nysa that Billig himself qualified as hypothetical, although – due to the lack of unambiguous primary source references as to the relationship of individual villages with the Niedów ringfort – to a lesser degree than the burgwards considered by this author to be highly probable. An additional element supporting the interpretation of the Niedów microregion as a former ringfort district is also its later history: after Conrad II won back Upper Lusatia from Mieszko II, the entire region was given to the Bishop of Meissen, resembling the fates of many burgwards that were given to the Church by subsequent rulers from the Saxon and Salian dynasties.¹³⁰

5.4.2 The Northwest: the Landeskrone

As is clear from the considerations above, the presumed Niedów burgward could not have been the only one existing in Eastern Upper Lusatia. A separate ringfort district should have existed in the northwest part of the region, to which neither the borders of the Niedów proto-parish nor the episcopal holdings reached. It is known that in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, this area was dominated by royal and knightly property, and the villages located on old settlements in this part of the region belonged originally to the proto-parish of the St. Wenceslaus Church in Jauernick (cf. here Jecht 1926/1934, 601–602; Schlesinger 1962, 209). The situation in the northwestern part of the region would thus have mirrored the findings east of the Nysa. The topographical situation of the churches in Niedów and Jauernick are also deceptively similar. Both are located at the feet of solidly-fortified hillforts located on prominences to provide a visual overview of the surrounding areas, in areas slightly separated from the valley of the main river artery, the Nysa.

There is actually one difference between Jauernick and Niedów, but it is, from the viewpoint of this study, decisive. While in the case of Niedów there is a lack of any traces that speak against retrospectively transferring its central function from the late Salian era, when that proto-parish was established, to the era of the Ekkehardine and Piast rule, for Jauernick one can cite at least two such arguments. First of all, the data currently available do not substantiate dating the hillfort in Jauernick to the end of the tenth or early eleventh centuries because most of the artifacts discovered on this

¹³⁰ In case of Niedów it was, however, probably not the king who donated this area to the Bishopric of Meissen (see above, sub-chapter 4.1).

site suggest that its period of intense usage happened earlier (cf. Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 171, Taf. 109/11; Richthofen 2003, 297). The strength of this argument is rather weak, as the artifacts from Jauernick in museum collections do not come from methodical explorations, and therefore are in no way associated with the stratigraphy of defensive ramparts. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that the hillfort in Jauernick really was used less intensively in the time of the Liudolfings and Piasts than before and thus left fewer movable finds, but this in no way takes away its potential for having been a burgward center. One can still imagine a situation in which this hillfort was not manned by a resident permanent garrison, but only guarded by a rotation of a few peasant sentries.

Another circumstance much more unambiguously speaks against location of a burgward center in Jauernick than problems with basic dating: there is a record in a reliable primary source about the central function of another nearby hillfort in this same time period. The reference, of course, comes from the chronicle of Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg stating that the fortress where a large number of the inhabitants of Eastern Upper Lusatia took refuge in 1015 from the troops of Udalric of Bohemia was the *civitas magna* on the Landeskrone (Thietmar VII, 19; cf. here, i.a., Bobková, Březina, Zdichynec 2008, 27). It is extremely unlikely that two major burgward centers were located just 3.84 km as the crow flies from one another, and this is precisely the distance between the structures on the Landeskrone in Görlitz-Biesnitz and on the Kreuzberg in Jauernick. The adoption of sequential functioning (*Ablösungsverhältnis*) for two hillforts in a single microregion is, however, entirely possible. Importantly, a similar phenomenon has been noted in the case of Niedów, where two strongholds existed – one on the Wolfsberg hill, which has been already mentioned many times in this book (Niedów, site no. 1), and the second on the opposite side of the river, in the area once belonging to Niedów, but today associated with the village of Ręczyn (Ręczyn, site no. 1).

The lack of exact dates for the ringforts in Ręczyn and Jauernick make it impossible to determine if a parallel or sequential relationship existed between them and the nearby structures in Niedów and on the Landeskrone. The resolution of this should be considered to be the most important goal for future archaeological research (cf. Fokt 2008b, 63–65) in this area. A sequential relationship, or rather changing the usage of different structures, seems much more likely, if only for practical reasons: the ringforts' embankments need to be maintained and guarded, but the human resources available for these purposes were certainly not impressive. This argument seems particularly apt in relation to the Landeskrone-Jauernick pair. Equal status for these two hillforts located next to each other would be remarkably impractical, particularly if we keep in mind that the ringfort on the Landeskrone was large enough for the entire local population to take refuge at least within its outmost limits. Thus, it appears that the hillfort in Jauernick had its heyday during the period of *Besunzane* self-rule, and then – during the rule of the Milčane, or only in the Ekkehardine period – gave way to the great defensive structure on the Landeskrone (this supposition must be, of course, verified or disproven by future archaeological research).



Figure 5.5: The interior of the ringfort on the Kreuzberg in Jauernick, in the background: the Landeskronen Mountain. Photo by K. Fokt, 2015.

As far as can be judged from later sources, after the Landeskronen fortress fell in 1015, a new burgward was not created from its district. This is clearly evidenced by the lack of a mention of a burgward in the document of Henry IV of 1071 regarding the eight royal fiefs situated in *villa Goreliz*, i.e. in Görlitz (MGH DH IV, no. 246). A mention would be expected if this burgward truly existed because even at the end of the eleventh century locating places according to the burgward was still practiced in Upper Lusatia (cf. MGH DH IV, no. 420). It can of course be argued that the new settlement area, acquired by clearing on royal behalf – as areas divided into royal fiefs (*mansi regales*) are usually interpreted (see Schrage 1999, 243, with further ref.) – could not become part of the burgward system. Analogies from other regions show, however, that new settlement areas were also joined to ringfort districts at that time rather than being organized as separate administrative units (Schlesinger 1937/1961, 185–186).

Given the significant depopulation of the area after the campaign of 1015 – as mentioned in the description in Thietmar's chronicle as well as from the small number of artifacts dating to the eleventh-twelfth centuries (roughly identical with the "late-Slavic" period) – one could safely assume that the creation of a new district after the fall of the hillfort on the Landeskronen was simply superfluous. This statement is particularly justified if one looks at the problem from the perspective of the Piasts, who reigned over Eastern Upper Lusatia until 1031. From their point of view, the former hillfort district of *Businc* lay far from the reach of German invasions and the garrison at the hillfort in Niedów would be sufficient for controlling the local population and keeping in check any potential invasions from Bohemia. The problem

of defending the local population could be solved on an *ad hoc* basis, e.g. by using the many existing ringforts, headed by the one located in Jauernick: even as a ruin it was certainly an excellent observation and defensive point, as it has remained until today. In the absence of primary sources, there is no way to tell what kind of organizational solutions were used by Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II for the former ringfort district of *Businc* (Landeskrone); in all likelihood, it was not replaced by a new castle district.

The complex history of the northwestern part of Eastern Upper Lusatia, resulting from the catastrophic war of 1015, makes it harder to assemble for it the set of factors according to the questionnaire presented by Billig (1989, 157) than for the potential southeastern burgward. It is necessary, however, to note that the hypothetical burgward on the Landeskrone has one important advantage over the district of Niedów hillfort: a direct mention in a primary source. The relevant chronicle *passus* is not an explicit mention of a burgward, but talks about the huge ringfort fulfilling one of the basic functions of a burgward: shelter. After all, the people who were kidnapped after the catastrophe of the *Businc* fortress were just those known from the very first documentary reference to burgwards (MGH DO I, no. 222a): *Sclavani qui ad [...] civitatem confugium facere debebant*. It can be concluded that the chronicler's reference to the *Businc* ringfort indirectly attests to the existence of a burgward by denoting the hillfort and the district surrounding it (1.2.: *Indirekter Nachweis durch Erschliessbarkeit von Burg und Burgbezirk*).

Thus far, the archaeological research conducted on the hillfort on the Landeskrone demonstrates that it existed during the reigns of the Liudolfings and Piasts over the region, with confirmation of the dating coming from the chronicle of Thietmar (for details, see Richthofen 2003). The bipartite layout of the defensive establishment on the Landeskrone as well as its unique area, matching the area of the Budyšin ringfort (cf. Coblenz 1963a, 276–278; Wilhelm 2004a, 44), leaves no room for doubt that this structure could have been defined by the chronicler as an *urbs magna* and could house a number of refugees. Therefore, it should be considered to have met Billig's second criterion: the presence of a hillfort corresponding, both in regard to its form as well as dating, to a model burgward center (2.1: *Dem Burgward entsprechender Burgwall: gesichert*).

To recreate the district tied to the *Businc* hillfort on the Landeskrone, we must analyze the territory of the Jauernick parish, which in a later period included the entire territory that was not given to the Bishop of Meissen along with the hillfort in Niedów. Also in this case, similarly as in regard to Niedów, it is necessary to rely not only on the oldest known area of the parish (cf. Blaschke 1969/2003, 65, map 3), but also on the extent of the area from which the church in Jauernick was entitled to tithes. This area can be reconstructed fairly accurately thanks to the studies of Joachim Huth (1962, 34–37) and unpublished but prepared source edition of Walter Haupt (n.d.c) who utilized the original register of tithes conducted in Jauernick, preserved almost intact from 1516 to 1720. The area obligated to pay tithes to the

parish priest of Jauernick, thoroughly presented on the basis of the research of these two authors in Appendix 7.3, reached from Kunnersdorf and Ebersbach in the north to Schönau auf dem Eigen in the south and from Tauchritz, Leschwitz and the granges in the western part of Görlitz in the east to Schlauroth, Pfaffendorf and Jauernick itself in the west.



Figure 5.6: Parish church in Jauernick, in the background: the Schwarzer Berg with Slavic mound cemetery. Photo by K. Fokt, 2015.

As mentioned above, when discussing the original Niedów parish, it should be taken into account that its northern part, consisting of Koźlice, Kunów, Koźmin and Tylice, was not originally part of the Niedów district (cf. above, 5.4.1); this area could have originally belonged to the second of the region's burgwards. However, even without this territory on the right bank of the Nysa, there would have been enough settlements in the old Jauernick parish for it to be possible to reconstruct a ringfort district. Keeping in mind that the depopulation of the region resulting from Udalric's attack in 1015 was total or nearly total and thus the reconstruction of the ringfort district based on historical-settlement factors (forms of village cores, principles of measurement of fields, place names) is illegitimate, the idea can still be supported by archaeological findings. These in turn clearly confirm that people lived throughout the later area of the Jauernick parish, from Ebersbach to Schönau auf dem Eigen, in the period dominated by mid-Slavic pottery. Perhaps the exclave

settlement around Pieńsk should be added to this area, or possibly – depending on whether the lower Czerwona Woda River Valley belonged to the presumed Landeskrona district or not – the similar one around Białogórze. However, even without this, one can safely assume that around the Landeskrona there remain traces of a burgward no worse than those from the hillfort district in Niedów (as code 3.2 in Billig’s system states).

Table 5.2: An attempt of identifying possible features of a burgward for the royal estates of Eastern Upper Lusatia around Jauernick/Landeskrone, according to the system proposed by Gerhard Billig (1989).

Feature no. after Billig 1989, 157	1	2	3	4	5
Presence of the features	0	+	–	–	+
Detailed code in the system of Billig	1.2	2.1	3.2	4.4	5

Although the extraordinarily large area of the Jauernick parish was legitimately taken into account as an argument supporting the hypothesis of the Landeskrona burgward, for obvious reasons the parish church there cannot be taken into consideration as a potential burgward-church, as it is closely connected topographically with the hillfort upon the Kreuzberg in Jauernick. One could demonstrate with no problem, however, that the presumed district of the *Businc* hillfort on the Landeskrona was a compact settlement unit including a segment of the Nysa valley as well as the inhabited parts of the Pliessnitz, Gaule and Weisser Schöps basins, and bordered to the north, west and south by forests that were only partially cleared in the thirteenth century. The picture of the settlement for the presumed Landeskrona burgward will be presented in an even more compact way if one takes into account from the previous chapter that the original district could have crossed the Nysa and included the modern villages of Koźlice, Tylice, Kunów and Koźmin.¹³¹ It then turns out that also from the east the Landeskrona district would have reached the edge of a densely-populated ecumene, and from the south would have been bordered by an artificial communications obstacle, which is attested to by the old place names of Osiek and Łomnica. In any case, within the framework of the questionnaire developed by Billig, the suspected Landeskrona hillfort district could rely on primary source references that are no better or worse than those for the Niedów burgward (cf. Table 5.2), and that are better than the majority of the presumed burgwards included in Billig’s monograph.

¹³¹ A trace of this original organization could be the affiliation of the village of Posottendorf north of Koźlice to the Leschwitz parish, a village originally having been part of the proto-parish of Jauernick.

5.4.3 The southern fringe of the region: another forgotten district?

The potential burgwards corresponding with the hillforts on the Landeskrone and in Niedów probably do not cover the entire ecumene area of Eastern Upper Lusatia from the times of the Ekkehardines and the Piasts. In this time period, at least at its beginning, some settlement could have existed in the Zittau Basin, clearly separated from the lands located further north by strip of hills several kilometers wide through which the Nysa pierces a narrow gorge.

In the absence of exact dating, there is no way to confirm if the settlements and ringforts in the southernmost part of Eastern Upper Lusatia were established during the time of the *Besunzane*, or the *Milčane*; in any case, at least some of them existed during the period dominated by the “middle Slavic” type of ceramic production (Oettel 1995, 11–13; Oettel 2011a, 33–34, no. 121; see also the file *Türchau* in LfA Dresden). It is likely that the *Milčane* and Ekkehard I had to take steps to organize the administration and defense of the Zittau Basin. Due to the above-mentioned topographic barrier at the Nysa Gorge, it is thus impossible that an administrative center for this sub-region was located in Niedów or Bratków; this center must have been one of the local ringforts (Zittau-Pethau? Nadrzecze?). Perhaps the hypothesis of Günter Oettel (1995, 11) that this center was the ringfort on the Schülerberg in Zittau-Pethau has merit; verifying this proposal is, however, impossible due to the destruction of the object in question.

In contrast to the presumed burgwards located north of the Nysa Gorge, there is no way to determine anything for sure about the presumed ringfort district in the Zittau Basin because not only are there no remnants of ringforts available for study in this area, there are also no indirect factors that one could base these assumptions on such as later references in documents or the ranges of proto-parishes (no such ecclesiastical structures were identified in this part of Eastern Upper Lusatia). This situation is probably not the result of a coincidence. It should be seriously taken into account that during the wars at the beginning of the eleventh century the entire region mentioned here on the upper Nysa and Mandau was simply depopulated, similarly to the northern territory around the Landeskrone. The Zittau region only comes into the primary written sources in 1234, and that is as a holding created *de cruda radice*, held by the powerful Czech family, the Hronovice. Therefore, there is no basis for reconstructing any kind of ringfort district in this area, although its existence at least in the early eleventh century seems possible.

5.5 Infrastructure of governance of Milsko under Piast rule (1002–1004, 1007–1031) and the question of origin of the “ringfort organization” in the Piast realm

The available sources do not allow for the recreation of the organizational framework that the Piasts imposed upon their newly-acquired territory of Milsko in 1002–1005

and 1007–1031, nor for defining a model of the local power structures that were applied. Keeping in mind that the donation of ringfort districts (burgwards) to the monastery in Nienburg an der Saale and the Bishop of Meissen made in Upper and Lower Lusatia by Otto III and Henry II was reflected not only in documents from those rulers, but also in later sources, one could guess that the Piast rule did not lead to any major changes in the organization of local government of these lands (cf. Kapras 1913, 90) or perhaps these changes were abolished when Conrad II recovered them.

The only reference that sheds any direct light on the infrastructure of governance existing in Milsko at the beginning of the eleventh century is a fragment of the chronicle of Thietmar (VIII 2, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 493–494) about the wedding of Bolesław the Brave and Oda, daughter of Ekkehard I, in 1018 in the *Sciciani* ringfort. Because the short, four-day period between settling the peace in Budyšin and the lavish wedding of the Polish prince to the Saxon noblewoman, one must surely concur with the opinion of those scholars who identify the *Sciciani* ringfort with Seitschen near Budyšin, and not the ringfort of a similar name that likely existed in (Lower) Lusatia (cf. Knothe 1874, 279, fn. 11; Coblenz 1963a, 278–281; Billig 1989, 78, fn. 181). It should also be noted that until the thirteenth century, Seitschen was at least a nominal burgward center remaining under the direct administration of the country's rulers – then, the Kings of Bohemia. It is possible that the Seitschen ringfort district was already royal property at the beginning of the eleventh century, when Milsko was ruled by Bolesław the Brave. Otherwise, carrying out in Milsko – after sixteen years of destructive wars – two major logistical projects, the peace negotiations in Budyšin and the princely wedding in Seitschen, positively demonstrates the effectiveness of the system of economically exploiting the population that had existed here under the reign of Bolesław the Brave, who probably relied on the solutions already implemented here by the Milčane ruling elite and Ekkehard I.

In this context, it is worth remembering the suggestion by Janusz Kurtyka (2003, 169), based upon hypotheses of Herbert Ludat (1965/2000, 104), György Györffy (1994, 118) and Jerzy Nalepa (1996, 65–71), that the exercise of power by the Piast dynasty in Milsko could have affected the forms that were accepted for organizing ringfort districts in Poland itself. The suggestion of a link between the Polish ringfort organization and the Ottonian system of burgwards is intriguing, but there is no way to verify it without conducting earlier detailed studies on the organization of ringfort districts in the realm of the Piasts. Even without these studies, however, serious doubts might be raised if the direct rule of the Piasts over the Spree and Nysa could have had a particular impact on the shaping of the organizational pattern for ringfort organization in Poland. The Piast monarchy entered the European scene in a rather abrupt way under Mieszko I in the 960s, but as such it was already quite mature and extensive (cf. Ożóg 2015, 71–74). The first lasting traces of its existence are, as accepted today, the large ringforts established in Greater Poland (Wielkopolska) in the 920s to 940s (Grzybowo, Giecz, Gniezno, Poznań). It is not, therefore, possible that by the

beginning of the eleventh century the elite of the Piast realm had not managed to adequately develop tools related to organizing local infrastructure of governance.

It may be possible, however, to surmise that the inspiration on the part of the Ekkehardines was of use to the Piasts, as Mieszko I expanded his own holdings in the late 980s to extensive southern “pertinencies” (as those newly acquired territories were called in the famous *Dagome iudex* register) in the upper Odra and Vistula catchment basins. This seems to indicate that the ringfort structure existed on the territory of what later became Silesia, quite well-known thanks to the bull of Hadrian IV of 1155 (SUB 1, no. 28). The old tribal territories in this area were organized quite similarly to the eastern possessions of the Empire such as Milsko or the land of the Glomači (*Daleminze*), i.e. their central ringforts (Głogów, Legnica, Wrocław, Opole) and the centrally-located, densely populated areas belonging to them were surrounded by rings of fortifications organized on the edges of the ecumenes. One could perhaps imagine what the original organization of the ringfort districts in the Lesser Poland (Małopolska), especially in Krakow land, was like (cf. here Wojciechowski 1924, table I; the most up-to-date state of archeological research on early medieval strongholds may be derived from Poleski 2011, 210–221, 228–382). The data concerning Silesia and Lesser Poland is certainly worth further investigation, but of little significance from the perspective of this study. Even if one could demonstrate that the ringfort organization in the southern part of the Piasts’ dominion was inspired by the burgward system, it would not automatically mean that the inspiration could be directly derived from the Piasts’ rule over Milsko and Lusatia in the early eleventh century, and not, for example, simply due to the friendly relations of Bolesław the Brave with Otto III and Ekkehard I.

It remains, moreover, a contentious issue as to what extent the administrative structure appointed by the first historical Piasts – Mieszko I, Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II – survived the deep crisis experienced by the Polish monarchy in the 1030s. There is no way to reject *a limine* the possibility that the reception of organizational solutions used in the eastern frontier of the Empire really occurred, but it was only under the reign of Kazimierz I the Restorer (Odnowiciel), who returned to Poland from Germany (cf. Gawlas 2000, 73). To finally determine if and when the adaptation in Poland of the eastern German (burgward) system for organizing ringfort districts took place, one must first define the standard model and its distinctive features, and then the effect of the presumed reception on the character of the original organizational pattern in Poland. The current state of the discussion in both of these areas is not encouraging. Studies on the burgwards not only focus on questions of settlement or politics rather than constitutional history, but also have actually come to a standstill since the time of Gerhard Billig’s book. The state of the research on the ringfort organization of the first and second Piast monarchies is even worse; it should essentially be restarted from the very beginning, as its basic presupposition, identifying the ringfort organization from the tenth-eleventh centuries with the castellan system known from the sources of the thirteenth century, was recently

overthrown (Wasilewski 1984; Cetwiński 1989; Gawlas 2000, 74–75). This could be, however, material for a separate book that would be focused rather on the history of the first and second Piast monarchies than of Upper Lusatia.

5.6 Local infrastructure of governance in Eastern Upper Lusatia 1031–1126

The charter of Henry IV issued on December 11, 1071 in Goslar (MGH DH IV, no. 246) was the cornerstone for each attempt at reconstructing the shape of the local structures of power and governance in Milsko in the nearly full century between 1031–1126. On the one hand, this is obvious, as it is the only document dealing directly with these lands in the given time period. On the other, it should be kept in mind that this diploma has a rather important place in the development of the concept taken on by the administration of the royal holdings in the eastern borders of the German lands in the eleventh century (cf. Heusinger 1922, 104, fn. 3; Schlesinger 1953, 24, fn. 3). This is due to the specific content of this source: it concerns namely the eight royal *mansi* (fiefs) in *villa Goreliz* which were donated by the king to the cathedral chapter in Meissen and previously were part of the benefice confiscated from certain Ozer. In the discussion presented in sub-chapters 3.2.2 and 4.2, it was determined that Ozer received this domain as a benefice directly from King Henry IV, but they remained to some extent under the authority of the margrave ruling Milsko. If one wants to use the 1071 document as a source for the history of the local infrastructure of governance, one should, however, pose a question: where exactly in eastern Milsko were the holdings that remained under the direct rule of the king?

This question is valid because, as demonstrated above (sub-chapter 4.1), during the rule of Ekkehard II (i.e. in the third period of Ekkehardine rule in Milsko, 1031–1046) it was not the king, but rather the margrave who held strong power over the Spree and Nysa, and even pursued legal actions that elsewhere were reserved for the king. This was not against the kings, but, on the contrary, it was with their consent. As Wilhelm Giesebrecht (1858, 375–376) already stated, in a somewhat rhetorically exaggerated manner, the last of the Ekkehardines was certainly among the close associates of Conrad II and Henry III in the area of eastern politics. He participated, among others, in successive expeditions to the Czech lands in 1040–1041 (cf. Patze 1962, 123–124; Rupp 1996, 146–147; Stieldorf 2012, 514) and also appeared as an intervener in a number of royal documents (cf. a breakdown of these by Rentschler 2012, 625–626). As already demonstrated above (in sub-chapt. 4.1), it was in all likelihood neither of the two first rulers from the Salian dynasty, but Ekkehard II himself who donated the two burgwards (Niedów and Dolgowitz) in eastern Milsko to the Bishopric of Meissen.

The lack of sources does not make it clear whether the position of Ekkehard II was equally strong throughout Milsko or if perhaps the eastern part of the country occupied a unique position. However, the latter possibility seems much more likely.

After 1015, Eastern Upper Lusatia, and particularly its northeastern part, the former district of the Landeskrone ringfort, was probably largely deserted and it was none other than the Margrave of Meissen who created a new organizational form there. As demonstrated by the lack of references to the burgwards in this part of Milsko both in the 1071 document and also in later sources, a ringfort district was not created in this area again. It remains an assumption that Ekkehard II treated this territory as a *terra inculta* and organized it according to his own preferences, treating it as his allodial property. This conjecture would explain why there were royal properties in eastern Milsko, although subsequent rulers up until Henry IV showed far-reaching *désintéressement* in the fates of Upper and Lower Lusatia, as illustrated by the silence of the royal documents about these territories until 1071. If a complex of allodial estates belonging to Ekkehard II existed on the Nysa, at the moment of his death they would have come into the ownership of Henry III, to whom the margrave donated his hereditary possessions in his last will.¹³²

There are no sources that would ascertain how Ekkehard II and Henry III governed their holdings on the eastern border of Milsko, although one would suspect that the administration of these territories resembled the form reflected in the document of Henry IV of December 1071. It is entirely possible that Henry III, together with the properties in eastern Milsko, also inherited the system of beneficiaries holding them in fief, and perhaps even left these same people in possession of the respective benefices. The organizing of the laical properties in Eastern Upper Lusatia into a system of benefices distributed among the knights corresponds clearly with the growth of the strategic importance of this region under the reigns of Conrad II and Henry III. From 1031–1034 at the latest, instead of the Piasts it was Bohemia under the rule of Břetislav I (1034–1055) that concerned the emperors as the main threat on the eastern frontier of their realm. From a region located off the beaten track, the upper Nysa river basin suddenly became a stronghold allowing entry to Bohemia from the north and simultaneously a bulwark blocking the penetration of Czech forces into Milsko. Henry III's conflict with Břetislav I, which ended with repeated attacks by German forces into the Czech lands (cf. Žemlička 1997, 60–62), was undoubtedly sufficient reason to persuade Emperor Henry III and Margrave Ekkehard II to look closely at the issue of defending Eastern Upper Lusatia (cf. Stieldorf 2012, 467, 476–477, *passim*).

Distributing the properties in the threatened territories in benefice to the knights obliged to defend it was by far the easiest and most effective option that could be used in this period. The size of the holdings confiscated from Ozer demonstrate that knightly benefices in Eastern Upper Lusatia were rather

¹³² *Herimanni augiensis chronicon* s.a. 1046, MGH SS 5, 125: *Rex natale Domini in Saxonia apud Goslar celebravit. Magna mortalitas multos passim extinxit. Eggehardus marchio ditissimus subito moriens, praediorum suorum regem relinquit heredem.*

substantial. The eight royal fiefs in *villa Goreliz*, which was roughly equal to sixteen Frankish fiefs of ca. 24 ha each¹³³ was, after all, only a part of this benefice.¹³⁴ The basic model used in distributing the holdings of the margrave, and then of the king, in the eastern part of Milsko was probably the eight common Frankish fiefs; the suburban holdings acquired by the hospital in Görlitz reached this size in 1264; earlier it was held in fief by a certain Conrad, son of Peregrinus.¹³⁵ The number of eight royal fiefs known from the 1071 document was equivalent to two of these basic distribution and measurement units.

Traces of the old measurement embracing an area equal to the eight royal fiefs were discovered in the plan of the northern part of the city of Görlitz by Richard Jecht (1894b, 225–229 and the map; see also Jecht 1926/1934, Abb. 363), who identified these eight fiefs with those given to Ozer in 1071 (Jecht 1926, 6). This hypothesis seems to go too far, as there are no clear bases for identifying the fiefs discovered by Jecht (i.e. units for land distribution) with particular royal fiefs mentioned in the document as a unit of measurement, acting as a way of assigning a specific land area to a given holding (cf. Schlesinger 1962, 330). The prerequisite for this is not included in the document confirming that these fiefs were located *in villa Goreliz*. If this is to be understood as what in the thirteenth or fourteenth century was designated as a “Dorf”, the oldest settlement in the Lunitz Valley, the eight royal fiefs included in Jecht’s reconstruction should be considered as identical with the entire area of this suspected village. In this case, the phrase *octo mansos regales in villa Goreliz* makes no sense; one would rather expect to find in its place the expression *villam Goreliz in qua octo regales mansi mensuratur* or some similar formulation. What is more likely is the interpretation proposed by Joachim Huth (1971, 217), according to which beneath the term *villa Goreliz* hides not only the settlement on the Lunitz, but the entire area that later became part of the chartered town of Görlitz. However, the identification of the eight *mansi regales* with eight suburban settlements and granges known only from the Late Middle Ages, proposed by Huth (1971, 217–218), should be considered as going too far.

Settling groups of knights holding their benefices was an indispensable element for organizing defense; the other side to that coin was that the area of Eastern Upper Lusatia somehow had to be fortified. In searching for possible remnants of fortifications that existed during this period, one should recall the hillfort in Niedów that could have still been functioning during this time. If this were true, there is

¹³³ This was an amount of arable land sufficient for a high medieval *Waldhufendorf*, many of which still exist in Saxony, Upper Lusatia, Silesia and Lesser Poland.

¹³⁴ This is apparent from the tenor of the document of Henry IV (DH IV, no. 246): *Eosdem autem mansos cum aliis quidam nomine Ozer in beneficium habuit...*

¹³⁵ CDBrand. 2–1, no. 110: *Hospitali sancti spiritus contulimus proprietatis titulo perpetuo possidendos octo mansos ad urbem sitos, quos Conradus filius Domini Peregrini a nobis in feudo tenuit.*

no way to make a prediction without more exact archaeological dating. This is all the more difficult because even the most precise method for absolute chronological determination in archaeology, dendrochronology, allows for the exact dating of the construction of specific defensive structures rather than for their destruction. With respect to Niedów, it should be remembered that this ringfort belonged to the Bishopric of Meissen, and therefore did not directly belong to the administrative and defensive system created by Ekkehard II and taken over by Henry III. It is thus highly likely that the defensive organization of Ekkehard or Henry was joined by other defensive structures located near Niedów, but in an area that in a later period was considered royal. I speak here of the bipartite ringfort in Bratków, which blocked the Nysa valley to the north of its gorge. It was from here that a collection of sherds of ceramic vessels clearly younger than those found in other ringforts in Eastern Upper Lusatia came.



Figure 5.7: Bipartite ringfort in Bratków (site no. 1) viewed from the west. Photo by K. Fokt, 2014.

The currently available archaeological dating of this interesting structure is unfortunately far from precise, resulting from the fact that the research conducted on it has thus far not produced sufficiently and accurately dated artifacts from given, explicitly interpreted stratigraphic contexts. The origins of this ringfort's usage should certainly date to the "middle Slavic" period, as argued by the finding of a potsherd of that type in the inner rampart of the stronghold (Fig. 5.8) as well as the dating of some fragments of ceramic vessels from the collection of the Stadtmussen in Zittau presented by Günter Oettel (1995, 13; Oettel 2011a, 33–34, no. 121). There is no doubt, however, that the overwhelming majority of the fragments of ceramic vessels known from the ringfort in Bratków, those coming from the research carried out before 1945, chiefly by Walter Frenzel in 1924 (Oettel 2011a, 32–35, nos. 119–135),

and those coming from the surface research conducted in the last decades stored in the Lusatian Museum (Muzeum Łużyckie) in Zgorzelec (material known to the author from experience; see also Richthofen 2003, 295–296) are mainly fragments of vessels made in the eleventh to twelfth centuries.

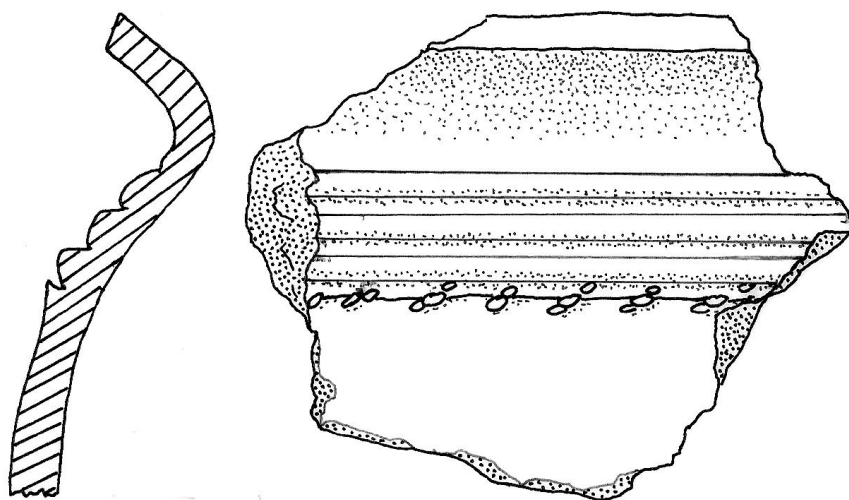


Figure 5.8: Early medieval potsherd found in the inner rampart of the ringfort in Bratków in 2003. Scale 1:1. Drawing by K. Fokt.

The number of surface finds in the courtyard of the larger part of the ringfort in Bratków (*castrum maius*) argues that at least for some time this defensive structure was used rather intensively and likely was inhabited permanently by a particular group of people. Unfortunately, without conducting additional excavation research, examining the stratigraphy of this site and procuring from it artifacts that could be dated more accurately than the fragments of ceramic vessels we already have, a precise chronology of the defensive structure in Bratków using archaeological methods is impossible. However, the archaeological dating and historical context provide a framework that allow us to hypothesize that it was exactly in the second quarter of the eleventh century that the ringfort in Bratków could have played a significant role in the defense of Milsko against a possible attack from the south. Also later, under the house of Groitzsch and the Přemyslids, the stronghold in Bratków could have been of particular importance – this time not as a defensive structure against Bohemia but rather as a station on the routes from Bohemia to Upper Lusatia or further northwards.



Figure 5.9: Pieces of burnt clay with imprints of wooden constructions found in the *castrum maius* of the Bratków ringfort. Photo by K. Fokt, 2007.

Besides the knightly settlements and erection of fortifications, the third element strengthening the frontier was involving other members of the aristocracy of the eastern regions of the Empire in its defense. I speak here of course of the Bishops of Meissen, endowed most likely from the times of Ekkehard II with generous donations in eastern Milsko. Motivation of this type, strengthening the position of a particular power center in the frontier zones through donations to the Church, was already supposed in relation to the holdings of the Bishop of Meissen in Milsko, namely the three burgwards bestowed in the year 1007 to the bishopric by Henry II (cf. Schrage 2004b, 38). With regard to the ringfort districts located in Milsko's eastern borderlands – Dolgowitz and Niedów – the motivation of the benefactor (in this case, as demonstrated above, Margrave Ekkehard rather than one of the first rulers from the Salian Dynasty) was most likely similar: wanting to involve the Bishop of Meissen in the defense of a threatened border. The territorial shape of the demesne obtained by the bishop in Eastern Upper Lusatia, probably continuing to a large extent the former ringfort district of Niedów (see above, 5.4.1), was thus adapted to the defensive needs that arose after 1034 when the defense of the eastern borderlands of the Holy Roman Empire had to be reoriented due to the change in the geopolitical order wrought by the sudden collapse of the Piast polity. If one wishes to follow this issue, it is worth

devoting some attention to the question of the range of the episcopal holdings in Eastern Upper Lusatia.

The borders of those possessions were generally “frozen” by the foundation of the proto-parish in Niedów. Exact dating the moment of the foundation of this parish is not possible, but it does not seem likely that it would be significantly younger than the nearby proto-parish of Jauernick, to which the laical holdings of Eastern Upper Lusatia belonged. Moreover, the church or episcopal foundation in Niedów could be even older than the sanctuary in royal Jauernick. The *patrocinium* of the latter, St. Wenceslaus, the dynastic patron of the Přemyslids, leaves no room for doubt that the foundation of the church in Jauernick took place when members of this dynasty or their close kin, the Lords of Groitzsch, ruled this region (1081–1110 or 1117–1142). The year 1050, the beginning of the public cult of St. Wolfgang, who was probably the original patron of the church in Niedów, could be accepted as the *terminus post quem* for the foundation of the parish in Niedów (Neumann 1859, 246; cf. the register of respective charter from 1491 in BUWr. 6695, p. 196). It probably also did not yet exist in 1071, as Henry IV gave the Bishop of Meissen a part of the former holdings of Ozer in *villa Goreliz*; if some proto-parish would have existed in the episcopal holdings at the time, it would be probably a better addressee of such a gift than the far-away canonical chapter of the cathedral in Meissen.

A strong starting point for reconstructing the original reach of the Niedów parish are two sources from the late Middle Ages: the Registry of the Diocese of Meissen of 1495 (Haupt ed. 1968, 28; see also Blaschke 1969/2003, 65, map 3) and a document by Bishop Theoderic of Meissen of July 26, 1475 attesting to the establishment of a new parish in the village of Leuba by detaching it from the Niedów mother-church (Doehler 1902, 80).¹³⁶ Based on this source, it can be presumed that until 1475, the Niedów parish extended from the village of Nikrish (today Görlitz-Hagenwerder) located on the left bank of the Nysa and Leuba in the west to the granges located by Zawidów to the east. According to C.G.T. Neumann (1859, 247), in the mid-nineteenth century only the colony of Szybów (Scheiba) belonged to the Niedów parish, while according to Richard Doehler (1907, 108), the settlement of Ksawerów (Zwecka) did as well. In both cases, membership to the Niedów parish could have come into being as a result of its secondary expansion, because according to Blaschke (1969/2003, 65, map 3) in approximately 1495 it was not the Niedów parish that extended on this side, but the Zawidów parish. Moreover, it is certain that Ksawerów (Zwecka) did not belong to the parish church in Niedów in 1597, because its then-owner, Haug von Salza, appeared in a matter concerning the Niedów parish only due to holding ownership of Łomnica (ger. Lomnitz) and not as the possessor of Ksawerów.¹³⁷ In the south, the Niedów parish included Ręczyn and Kostrzyna, while to the north it included Radomierzce

¹³⁶ The charter was erroneously cited as referring to 1745 in Staffa ed. 2003, 89.

¹³⁷ See APWr., 6693, fol. 7v: *wegen des dorffes Lomnitz*.

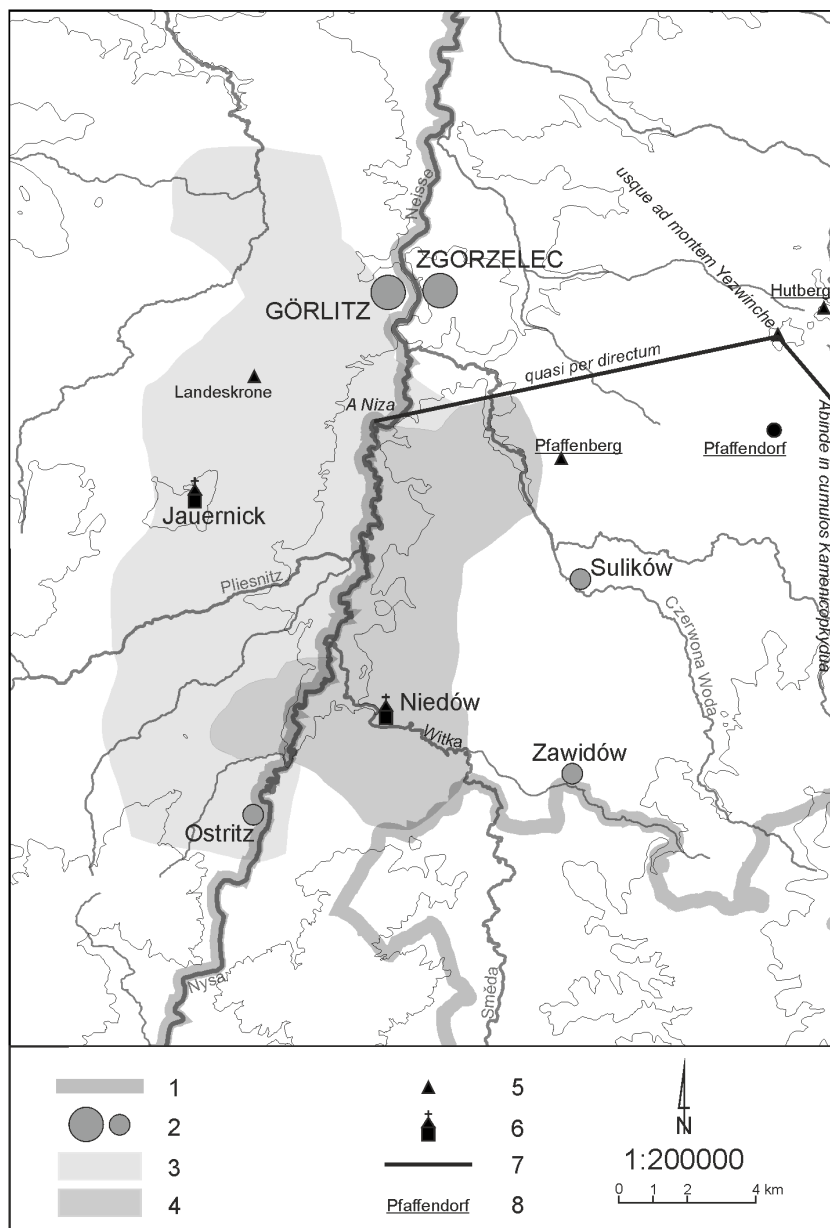


Figure 5.10: The proto-parishes of Jauernick and Niedów and the northern border of the ecclesiastical possessions as drawn in the Protocol Ib of the Upper Lusatian Border Charter. Designed by K. Fokt, drawn by Janusz Szyszka. 1. Contemporary state borders. 2. Present towns. 3. Proto-parish Jauernick. 4. Proto-parish Niedów. 5. Chosen mountains and heights. 6. Parish churches in Niedów and Jauernick. 7. The northern limit of the episcopal estates drawn in the Protocol Ib. 8. Place names confirming the existence of the northern limit of the ecclesiastical demesne.

(until 1617) and Łomnica; the original northern border of the parish ran much further, however.

The first source trace of this situation is a reference from 1440, in light of which the patron of the church in Osiek Łużycki was Wentsch of Dohna, the lord of Niedów (see Zobel 1805, 51; cf. Knothe 1879, 618, 619). The parish in Osiek probably originally encompassed not only the villages of Osiek and Koźlice (which is also true today), but also nearby Tylice and Kunów (cf. Neumann 1859, 246–247). Until 1597, peasants from both of these villages were required to pay tithes to the rector of the church in Niedów (see Zobel 1824, 255). In his list of Upper Lusatian documents, J.G. Zobel did not use the word *Dezem*, substituting it with the neutral *Getreidezinse*; also Neumann (1859, 247) wrote skeptically about the rector of the church in Niedów being entitled to tithes from Tylice and Kunów, attempting to present an alternative conjecture about the genesis of these obligations, allegedly linked with some pious foundation of some devotee of St. Wolfgang. Nevertheless, a short overview of respective sources allows the statement that the ground of the abovementioned obligations of the inhabitants of Koźmin and Tylice towards the Niedów parish was nothing other than a tithe.

Unfortunately, we do not have the original reference document, which in the eighteenth century was stored in the estate archives in Spytków.¹³⁸ However, two handwritten registers of it are known, coming from the hand of the tireless eighteenth-century scholar of the history of Upper Lusatia, Jakob Gottlieb Kloss (BUWr. 6416, p. 453; BUWr. 6693, fol. 7v). From their contents, it follows unambiguously that the subject of the settlement, which on May 6, 1597 pitted the dean of the Budyšin chapter, Christopher Blöbelius, and the canons of this chapter, including Hans von Penzig and Haug von Salza, on one side (representing the Niedów parish) and, on the other, the current owners of Koźmin and Tylice, was simply tithing, and not some other undefined payment.¹³⁹ The obligation of the inhabitants of Tylice and Koźmin to pay tithes to the rector of the Niedów parish unambiguously speaks to the original affiliation of these villages to this proto-parish, which would have thus reached as far as the lower Czerwona Woda River Basin.

The proto-parish of the church in Niedów was most likely set up to exercise pastoral care (*cura animarum*) over the inhabitants of the episcopal holdings (cf. above, sub-chapter 5.4.1). This is supported by the convergence of its borders with the reach of the bishop's holdings drawn in protocols Ia and Ib in the Upper Lusatian Border Charter of 1241, and more specifically, the inclusion of the area of this proto-parish inside the borders of the dominion of the Bishop of Meissen set in this document. It is only on their northern edge, where it can be debated whether the proto-parish did

¹³⁸ Cf. BUWr. 6416, p. 453. This document likely ended up there after the division of the Niedów estate in 1622.

¹³⁹ BUWr. 6693, fol. 7v: *...wegen den vormahls eingepfarrten dörfer Cosma und Thielitz, und wegen des Dezems, den sie nach Nida geben sollten...*

not encompass an area broader than the holdings of the Bishop of Meissen, but a closer look at the contents of Protocol Ia of the Upper Lusatian Border Charter and the onomastic sources dispel these doubts.

As already noted above (sub-chapter 5.4.1; see also Fokt 2013a, 228), the borders of the ecclesiastical and royal holdings described in Protocol Ia should have run to the north of Sulików. Without giving a broader argument in support of his opinion, Joachim Huth (1981, 159) pointed out that part of its course should run along the watershed of the Czerwona Woda, Jędrzychowicki Potok and Sierkierka streams. To support this supposition, one could recall a substantive toponymical argument: the toponym Pfaffendorf (today Rudzica, Lubań county) as the name of a locality situated on the northern edge of the Czerwona Woda catchment basin. The course of the borderline to the north of Rudzica could also justify the name of Huthberg Hill (at present Pastwa, 334 m above sea level) in Nowa Karczma. These are German names, most likely coming from the period of intensive colonization of this rural region in the thirteenth century, i.e. the exact same period reflected in the Upper Lusatian Border Charter. It is thus probable that the hill and village with “priestly” names owed their names to their location on the northern border of the bishop’s holdings, like the hill called the “guarding height” – for protecting the king’s territory on one side of the bishop’s holdings (or vice-versa).

The northeastern edge of Rudzica (*Pfaffendorf*) area must have been the place where the northern border of the bishop’s holdings turned in order to run to the third (after the Nysa and the *Yezwinche* Height) point mentioned in Protocol Ia as well as in the 1234 document: *Ducamnegorke*, i.e. *Kamenekopkidua*, the “two stony hills”. The turn of the borderline in this place was necessary, as these two stone hills should most likely be identified with the two Kamienne Góry (Ger. *Steinberge*) in the *Stiftswald* Forest near Lubań, which in the last century were largely destroyed by quarrying.¹⁴⁰ In this case, one should search somewhere north of Rudzica for the *Yezwinche* Mountain, i.e. the second (after the Nysa) point in the border route described in Protocol Ia. Between this point and the Nysa (described in the order preserved in Protocol Ia; contrarily, between the Nysa and the *Yezwinche*), the border should have run *quasi per directum* – probably roughly straight and more or less perpendicular to the course of the Nysa.

Wanting to identify the route – as per the words of the document “somewhat straight” – of the westernmost segment of the border between the ecclesiastical and royal holdings, it is worth referring again to onomastics and to turn our attention to the oronym of Pfaffenberg (today Pop Hill, 243 m above sea level) in Studniska. Even though this hill does not lie on the border of the chartered area of the village of Studniska, from a northern or northeastern perspective it is the first hill in this

¹⁴⁰ Many thanks to Waldemar Bena for this suggestion. An alternate proposition could be identifying the *Ducamnegorke* with the Czapla (330 m above sea level) and Czubatka (357 m above sea level) hills by Włosień; from the perspective of this study, this change is by no means significant.

area. In this case, assuming that the area of the chartered villages, even roughly outlined, should have generally fitted the original borders of the ecclesiastical and royal holdings, the line plotted between them would keep Rudzica, Studniska, Tylice and Koźlice on the southern side (the ecclesiastical estates) and Białogórze, Trójca, Jerzmanki, Zgorzelec-Ujazd and Posottendorf on the northern side (royal holdings), leaving the issue of Gozdanin being located on the laical side or the ecclesiastical as an open question.¹⁴¹ The membership of the church in Leschwitz – which was also attended by the inhabitants of Posottendorf, located on the right bank of the Nysa – to the proto-parish in Jauernick undoubtedly appeals to this course of the border. It seems also important that in the fourteenth century, the parish church in Leschwitz was still under royal patronage, as its possessor, Ulmann *de Dote* (or in *mittelhochdeutsch*: *von deme Wydeme*), had to relinquish it into the hands of King John of Luxembourg as he wanted to donate it to the Holy Spirit Hospital in Görlitz (CDLS 1, no. 228; Zobel 1799–1800, no. 249; see also BUWr. 6695, p. 127). It thus turns out that not only did the northern border of the ecclesiastical holdings encompass the northernmost village belonging to the proto-parish church in Niedów, but probably both borderlines were originally identical to each other. The differences in their course are associated with the *Waldhufendörfer*, founded in the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries on the edge of the ecclesiastical holdings, which became part of the bishop's domain but were not included in the Niedów proto-parish because they were provided with their own parish churches (Studniska, Rudzica) from the very beginning.

The proto-parish church in Niedów had a near mirror image in the proto-parish church of St. Wenceslaus in Jauernick. Also, its original territorial extent can with all likelihood be determined by reaching for the retrogressive method due to the surviving tithe obligations for the church in Jauernick as well as with reference to the plots in localities that were over time obtained by other parish churches. Basic studies of the source texts on these issues have already been carried out by Joachim Huth (1962, 34–37) and Walter Haupt (n.d.c),¹⁴² based on the detailed statements of tithes collected in Jauernick from the sixteenth century. The data they collected can also be confirmed point-by-point thanks to the studies conducted by Richard Jecht (1926/1934) as well as some manuscripts being preserved in Wrocław (BUWr. Akc. 1948/140, p. 78–79, 91–94, 193, 205; BUWr. 6358, fol. 4v, 6v, *passim*). Due to the relative abundance of sources and studies, the discussion in this book must be limited to

¹⁴¹ With regard to Gozdanin, based on the shape of its area, one can ascertain with high confidence that this village was established later, after the measuring and parceling out of the neighboring rural settlements. The former border of the ecclesiastical and royal holdings could by then have been out-of-date at the time when Gozdanin was being located and measured.

¹⁴² Copies by both authors of the books containing the registers of income from tithes for the church in Jauernick do not conform in some details, but those are completely irrelevant to this study.

summing up the results presented by the cited scholars in cartographic (Fig. 5.4, 5.10) and tabular (see Appendix 7.3) form.

The area of pastoral care of the church of St. Wenceslaus in Jauernick encompassed the entire populated area of Eastern Upper Lusatia to the west of the Nysa, with the exception of the places belonging to the parish church in Niedów (Leuba, Nikrisch), but including the Eigensche Kreis that in a later period belonged to the Bishop of Meissen. Only the status of the Ostritz domain, the original center of which was the ringfort in Bratków, is unclear. We should reject the hypothesis of Joachim Huth (1962, 33–34), who guessed at the existence of a separate parish of Ostritz equally as old as Niedów and Jauernick. The basis for this hypothesis is this author's assumption that the region of Ostritz/Bratków was the core of the suspected burgward of *Ostrusna*, but this assumption has already been rejected above (section 5.4.1) as unfounded. It should rather be assumed – and because the lack of appropriate sources, we are limited to assumptions – that this area belonged originally, as a royal holding, to the proto-parish church in Jauernick.

In this case, both the laical as well as the ecclesiastical properties would have spread out longitudinally from the northern settled edges of Eastern Upper Lusatia to the northern outskirts of Nysa Gorge. Both of these complexes of holdings administered access to the region's main transit artery, the Nysa; it is likely that defensive positions existed on the southern edge of the royal and ecclesiastical holdings in the eleventh century. In the royal demesne, this structure would be the ringfort in Bratków (cf. above); on the southern edge of the ecclesiastical demesne, a ringfort likely existed in Niedów, which should take into account the translocation of this structure from the right to the left bank of the Witka River.¹⁴³ This structure of ownership and the topography of the fortifications appear to be traces of the system, oriented to concentrate its defensive strength on the southern reaches of the Nysa Gorge in the event of aggression from the south, i.e. from the Nysa or Witka river valleys. As demonstrated above, the creator of this system was likely Ekkehard II, and Henry III adopted it together with his possession of the allodial properties bequeathed to him by the last of the Ekkehardines. Such a north–south oriented system of possessions and fortifications appears to have been practical not only in the the German-Bohemian conflict of the 1030s and 1040s, but also for the period of close cooperation of the Salians and Přemyslids (1075–1125). During most of that period, Upper Lusatia was ruled by the close friends of both dynasties, Wiprecht and Henry of Groitzsch. A vivid *memento* of the close relationship of the Přemyslids and the Lords of Groitzsch is probably the *patrocinium* of the St. Wenceslaus-Church in Jauernick.

143 At the very beginning of the period 1031–1081, ringfort no. 1 in Niedów could have been in operation; in the later period, one should rather look at the structure located on the opposite riverbank, at present registered as site No. 1 in Ręczyn (cf. here Richthofen 2003, 299).

Due to the paucity of well-dated archaeological finds and reliable historical information, it is not known if and to what extent the area located further south than the Nysa Gorge (Zittau Basin and the foot of the Lusatian Mountains) was populated during this period (1031–1081). The discoveries of early medieval pottery in Lückendorf and Oybin show that, in any case, these areas were not completely depopulated in the eleventh century, and the mountain passes crossed routes that in later periods were known as traders' routes leading into Bohemia (cf. Aurig 1992, 215; Aurig 1994, 17; Oettel 1995, 12–13; Oettel 2011b, 7, 23). Travelers heading from the Czech lands to Milsko, crossed the Nysa Gorge and found their way to the ringfort in Bratków; after that, they could either continue their journey north along the banks of the Nysa or head northeast towards Jauernick and then via the *antiqua strata qua itur ad Jawornik* mentioned in 1241 (CDB 4/1, no. 4; cf. the comments of Aurig 1992, 217, fn. 14 and Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1996, 120) to Budyšin. Control of traffic and security on these routes was undoubtedly ensured by the *comites* and beneficiaries currently ruling Milsko: first Ekkehard II, who was also the direct, domanial ruler of Eastern Upper Lusatia, and then by his successors as the closest representatives of royal rule in the area, having both the strength and resources to quickly and effectively react to internal and external threats to the peace.

During the long period of 1031–1126 certainly some changes in the local infrastructure of power took place, which cannot be, however, reliably reconstructed. Probably for a vast part of this period the local power center should have been located in Jauernick, since it was there that the parish, which included the laical property of the region, was established. The center of some small demesne could have also operated in Görlitz, in the area re-settled after the catastrophe of 1015. Furthermore, the 1126 note in the so-called Chronicle of the Canon of Vyšehrad¹⁴⁴ indicating that the ringfort in Görlitz was rebuilt (*reedificatur*) at this time signifies that some kind of fortifications already existed on the Nysa before that year that were not even mentioned in 1071 when it was only listed as the *villa Goreliz*. In fact, as the hoard found in the Pontestrasse indicates (cf. below, Appendix 7.1.3), Görlitz must have already been some important local center of power around 1100. It seems, therefore, that it was Wiprecht II of Groitzsch who not only founded the church in Jauernick, but also provided the northern part of the laical possessions in Eastern Upper Lusatia with some fortified place by the former *villa Goreliz*.

¹⁴⁴ FRB 2, 205: *eodem tempore quasdam munitiones Bohemi reaedificaverunt, quae sclavice Przimda, Yzcorelik, Tachow apellantur.*

5.7 Transformations of local infrastructure in the tridecennium 1126–1156

The reconstruction of the Drewnow hillfort in Görlitz under the name **Zgořelec* (*Yzcorelik*) by Duke Soběslav I in 1126 began a period of dynamization in the history of Upper Lusatia, especially in its eastern part. The crucial elements of this acceleration have already been presented in detail in sub-chapters 3.4 and 4.4. These were, namely, the creation of the *pagus Isgorelik* as a separate territory, combined with cumulation of some prerogatives in the hands of its beneficial possessor, Duke Soběslav. Details of the organization of the *pagus* are, unfortunately, unknown. It seems, however, that Soběslav's men exercised some quite strict control over the area, as may be concluded from the facts recalled and discussed above (sub-chapter 4.4.1): the building and restoration of the *Yzcorelik* ringfort, the supposed exchange of possessions with the Bishop of Meissen, and, last but not least, granting the so called episcopal tithe from the Nysa region to the canonical chapter in Stará Boleslav. A trace of the direct control of the Přemyslids on Eastern Upper Lusatia may be the burials discovered under the Peterskirche in Görlitz (cf. Mitschke 1987; Mitschke 1994), which attest to the existence of the *castrum* founded by Soběslav I and a Christian cemetery (probably accompanying some chapel).¹⁴⁵ Also the scarce indications of the existence of a castle feoff area (*Burglehn*) in Görlitz (cf. Lemper 1997, 116, *passim*; Lemper 2001, 12–13) should be interpreted as evidence for the existence of a fortress manned with a permanent garrison. Unfortunately, the archeological and historical premises mentioned above are not so precisely datable to be treated as reflections of the functioning of *Yzcorelik* castle under Soběslav I. Theoretically, they may as well reflect the later period of its history, until at least the beginning of the 13th century, when the chartered town of Görlitz was founded and a royal castle was built on the Landeskrona (first mentioned in 1223: CDLS 1, no. 17). Nevertheless, it seems obvious that it was no other than Soběslav I who founded the manned castle *Isgorelik* as the cornerstone of local governance; the role of this duke as founder of Görlitz (of course, as an administrative center of Eastern Upper Lusatia, and not a chartered town) is indisputable, as it was for the inhabitants of that town already more than half a millennium ago (cf. Lemper 1996, 18).

The tight control of Soběslav I over Eastern Upper Lusatia probably contributed to further developments, brought about not by the Dukes of Bohemia but by the subsequent German Kings Conrad III and Frederick I. It was in the very beginning of the reign of Frederick I Barbarossa that Eastern Upper Lusatia appeared under the name *Milza* in the Registry of Royal Table Estates, along with *Licendice* (=Leisnig), *Nisana* (=Dohna) and *Budesin*. Due to its name, there is no doubt as to the location of the demesne of *Budisin* somewhere around Budyšin. The name of *Milza* has caused scholars greater problems,

¹⁴⁵ The existence of a cemetery for noblemen (*cimiterium domicellorum*) by St. Peter's Church (Peterskirche) was also attested in the fourteenth century (cf. Jecht 1927/34, 804).

but thanks to the studies of Joachim Huth (1971) and Manfred Kobuch (1996, 356–368; cf., however, the critical attitude of Lemper 1997, 120) it is highly likely that the holdings it designates were located in Eastern Upper Lusatia. An alternate vision locating this estate somewhat further west was presented by Reinhard Spehr (1994), but it is based on incorrect premises (cf. Kobuch 1996, 357, fn. 397). One of the basic arguments for location of royal demesne around Görlitz, the mention of *plenum servitium* in the document of Henry IV of 1071 (MGH DH IV, no. 246), should be considered to be incorrect. *Plenum servitium* did not necessarily have anything to do with *servitium regis* and *servitium regis* may not have much to do either with provisioning of the royal court (cf. Gödel 1997, 27–35) or with the *Tafelgüterverzeichnis* itself. On the other hand, even if *plenum servitium* does not reflect the organization of royal table estates, the sole mention of *mansi regales* in the charter of Henry IV from 1071 suggests that this land was owned by the king at that time (cf. Schrage 1999, 244–245). There remains also another argument supporting the hypothesis of the existence of a royal demesne around Görlitz, namely the accumulation in Eastern Upper Lusatia of rent payments in pepper, typical for complexes of royal estates. A list of properties in Görlitz and the surrounding areas from which rents in pepper or in spices generally, because other spices such as mustard and saffron also entered into the equation,¹⁴⁶ was compiled first by Joachim Huth (1971, 213–214, Tab. 3). This list was reproduced, with his own commentary and corrections, by Manfred Kobuch (1996, 366–367). For the purposes of this work, a compilation of both authors has been supplemented with some additional sources as well as the rich source notes left by Walter Haupt, today preserved along with the rest of this scholar's legacy in the Staatshauptarchiv in Dresden (Haupt, n.d.a-c). The result of this supplemental compilation is presented in Appendix 7.4.

In analyzing the list of plots obligated to pay rents in pepper, one should note that besides the old settlement area (several gardens in the suburbs of Görlitz and in Grossbriesnitz), there are also numerous villages of later location, both in the royal holdings (Jerzmanki, Łagów, Jędrzychowice, Gozdanin, Ludwigsdorf, Trójca) as well as in magnates' domains (Pieńsk, Czerwona Woda, Dłużyna, Działoszyn), which indicates that the system of payments in pepper was still developing around 1200, in the heyday of unchartered but systematic rural colonization. It appears even that the greatest advancement for pepper rents in Eastern Upper Lusatia took place not before the mid-twelfth century, but only during the third reign of the Přemyslids (1158–1253). From the perspective of this work, it also seems extremely significant that the gardens required to pay the pepper rent were also located in old villages in the bishop's dominion (Nikrisch, Wilka). This could be an argument confirming the thesis that the bishop's holdings were included in the obligations of Eastern Upper Lusatia (Zagozd) as a whole – not only, as already stated above (section 4.4.2), in terms of military duties but also in the area of royal financial matters.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Huth 1971, 214 and below, 7.4, No. 16 (Wilka).

5.8 From ringfort districts to royal and episcopal domains: the development of the local infrastructure of governance

The closer insight into the infrastructure of governance presented in this chapter, limited to the insufficiently researched eastern part of Upper Lusatia, brought a coherent though hypothetical view of its development. In the sub-chapters 5.1 and 5.2, the “pre-history” of the local substructure of governance was analyzed, i.e. the ringfort organization of the *Besunzane* and the Milčane. It appears that most of the early medieval ringforts known from Eastern Upper Lusatia existed already in that period. It may be even supposed that most of them were built when the region was subdued by the Milčane, but such a hypothesis should be tested as soon as possible by new excavations. One of the *civitates* of the *Besunzane*, mentioned in the *Bavarian Geographer*, was probably the well-known hillfort in Niedów. The other center should have lied in the northern part of the sub-region; it was rather not the site in Białogórze, but rather one of the hillforts west of the Nysa: Landeskrone or Jauernick. The former also – most probably – played some role in the local governance of the Milčane in this area, subordinated by them. Also the Białogórze complex, comprising of a small bipartite ringfort and a huge mound cemetery, could have been an important part of local defense both in the times of the *Besunzane* and later, after their conquest by the Milčane. The actual role of all the mentioned archeological complexes may be, however, properly understood only after new excavations would bring new, valuable data illustrating the chronology and functions of those sites.

A much more detailed view of the developments of local infrastructure of governance could be obtained for the following period of the inclusion of Upper Lusatia into the eastern marches of the Empire and the dominion of the lords of Groitzsch, as not only archeological but also more historical sources could be included into the reasoning. Much of the reconstructions presented for that period in the sub-chapters 5.3–5.6 were, unfortunately, based upon retrospective studies on the oldest parishes and domains of the region, which has obviously negative influence on their probability. Nevertheless, the hypotheses presented there deserve attention, being the first attempt to draw the history of local infrastructure of governance in Eastern Upper Lusatia. The most important of the results of those studies is certainly the denial of the categorical statement of Gerhard Billig (1989) and other authors that there were no burgwards (ringfort districts) in Eastern Upper Lusatia. Using the same method as Billig, basing upon various groups of sources, I attempted to reconstruct two ringfort districts in the Nysa catchment basin, probably corresponding with some older structures, with centers in Niedów and on the Landeskrone (sub-chapter 5.4). Moreover, it occurred that the lack of any direct mentions of those burgwards in the eleventh or twelfth centuries was not a result of their non-existence but of them being early dissolved. The end of those ringfort districts should be related with the disastrous raid of duke Udalric of Bohemia in the year 1015 and the siege of the *urbs magna Businc* (Landeskrone).

After the re-conquest of Milsko by Conrad II, local infrastructure of governance in Eastern Upper Lusatia was probably re-arranged on behalf of the emperor by the Margrave Ekkehard II. The new organization was not based upon ringfort districts, but domains, loosely corresponding with the former burgwards. The southern, which evolved from the Niedów burgward, was bestowed to the Bishopric of Meissen, and the northern became an allodial possession of the margrave. It is significant that the new structure of the neighboring ecclesiastical and margraval holdings, both stretching from north to south, reflected quite well the needs of defense of the sub-region, being after 1031 endangered not from the east (Poland) but from the south (Bohemia). We do not know much about the episcopal domains of Eastern Upper Lusatia in the eleventh century; one may only suppose that their center was the fortified site registered as ringfort no. 1 in Ręczyn. The laical possessions, which after the extinction of the Ekkehardines in 1046 were turned royal holdings, were at least partially divided into fiefs. They also disposed of an intensely used stronghold in Bratków. They were certainly not administered directly by kings' stewards, but subject to some supervision of subsequent counts ruling Milsko.

The exclusion of Milsko from the framework of the eastern marches opened a new period in the history of the region, during which chances appeared for the men holding the land to use it in order to strengthen their position or even build some semi-independent dominion there. It seems, however, that the first of the *homines novi* holding Milsko after 1081 – Duke Vratislav of Bohemia – not only was not interested in such activities, but also got rid of the benefice as soon as possible (cf. above, sub-chapter 3.3). The lords of Groitzsch paid more attention to Milsko; it was probably them who founded St. Wenceslaus' Church in Jauernick and built the first fortification in Görlitz. Nevertheless, it was only Soběslav I that really attempted to turn Eastern Upper Lusatia into an enclave of his strong power by building *Yzcorelik* castle in Görlitz, which became the seat of economic and military power, over which the duke probably exercised direct supervision. The attempts of Soběslav I were probably to some extent continued by the first Staufers on the German throne, which is clearly visible in the *Milza* estate being included into the Registry of Royal Table Estates. It cannot be, however, estimated, how far any rearrangements of local laical demesne could have reached under Frederick I. According to the retrospective analysis of the obligations to pay rent in pepper and other spices, usually being related to royal holdings, it seems even that the most intensive development of this form of feudal rent came only after 1156 (under the Přemyslids) and not before (see sub-chapter 5.7 and App. 7.4).

6 A remote province: a chance, a challenge or a burden?

Through the analysis of the history of a single region, the present book aims to study the principles and standards employed by supreme and territorial rulers in the governance of distant provinces and their transformations. The analytical arguments in Chapters 2–5 have offered some interesting insights in this matter. They shed some light on the ways the rulers responded to the challenges and seized the opportunities created in such a distant region in the tenth to twelfth centuries. The results of particular chapters were briefly summarized in their final sections (sub-chapters 3.5, 4.5 and 5.8). The subject-oriented and diachronic order of those partial summaries may mislead us into believing that the events, policies and decisions formed a sort of continuum, which is clearly a misconception. While the significance of the *longue durée* phenomena should not be ignored, it needs to be argued that the area of governance was predominantly shaped by the views and personalities of successive decision-makers as well as the circumstances in which they operated. This is largely the case even now, when politics is highly institutionalized. Thus, it appears obvious that the decisions of particular actors and groups were even more important in the Middle Ages, when all issues related to power, governance and the judiciary were regulated rather by the decisions of “Big Men” conveyed through rituals than by the legal prescriptions. That is why it seems reasonable to look at the dynamics of events from a synchronic perspective, which can allow us to follow the situation changes and policy directions between the periods of rule of particular monarchs and dynasties.

6.1 Dynamics of royal and territorial strategies of governance applied in Upper Lusatia

In order to show the tendencies in the governance of Upper Lusatia through comparison of policies applied by successive rulers, it would be advisable to measure their intensity. There are, of course, no quantitative criteria applicable. Nevertheless, some qualitative ones may be – at least provisionally – developed for both immediate and structural means of governance, as referred to in the sub-chapter 1.2. For both those groups of means of governance, four degrees of intensity can be distinguished. The bottom level of the scale is obvious and identical for both immediate and structural means: this is the case of political autonomy of a province ruled by domestic (aboriginal) elites and loosely subordinated to the external center of power (Level 1). The higher degrees in both groups of means of governance are linked with direct rule exercised by the center of authority, based upon its own elites.

Table 6.1: Levels of intensity of the immediate and structural means of governance.

Means of governance	Immediate	Structural
Level 1	Autonomy of the province, ruled by its own elite	
Level 2	Extensive strategy: members of external elite engaged indirectly	Extensive strategy: Province managed as a benefice
Level 3	Intensification (horizontal and/or vertical)	Institutionalization: Province governed by officials
Level 4	Maximal intensification: Province entrusted to <i>homines novi</i>	Intensified institutionalization (horizontally and/or vertically)

Regarding the immediate means, governance in a territory could be exercised in an extensive manner by entrusting it (like a passive resource) to a person residing outside the province (Level 2) or in an intensive manner, by engaging a larger number of actors (Level 3), e.g. by appointing a separate count for a province (horizontal intensification) or by bestowing there estates to the church institutions that were dependent on the ruler (vertical intensification). Finally, the most intensive strategy of applying the direct means of governance (Level 4) is entrusting the power over a province to individuals from outside the ruling elite (*homines novi*). The above classification is fairly intuitive and would certainly need to be elaborated if it were to be of any use in future studies of other regions.

It is less problematic, largely thanks to the application of legal concepts, to categorize the structural means of power in terms of their intensity. The least intensive of these was a beneficiary relation which was part of the sphere of *dominium*, not the sphere of *imperium* (Level 2). A more intensive way of exercising control through structural means was to entrust the province governance to an official; in High Middle Ages reality, to a count (Level 3). Finally, the officials' governance could be intensified by the establishment of additional structures in a given region, either new administrative districts (horizontal intensification) or new institutions that were parallel to the existing ones (vertical intensification).

6.1.1 Strategies of the monarchs

The results of the analysis that focused on how intensively particular means of power were used by the successive German monarchs in their governance of Upper Lusatia are presented in Figure 6.1. The analysis leads to some interesting conclusions.

The Upper Lusatia example shows that Level 1 means of governance could be applied even in the case of a political and military confrontation between strong centers of power as long as this confrontation did not turn into a direct military clash between the major forces of the parties involved. In all respects, the Liudolfings wanted

to maintain only tributary superiority over the Milčane, who, as can be inferred from the few but significant sources (written and material), were loyal allies and reliable tribute payers. However, in the wake of such events as the conquest of Meissen by Boleslav II the Pious (985) and his military confrontation with Mieszko I (989–990), the only way to maintain control of this border region was its incorporation and militarization (the burgward structure) by Margrave Ekkehard I.

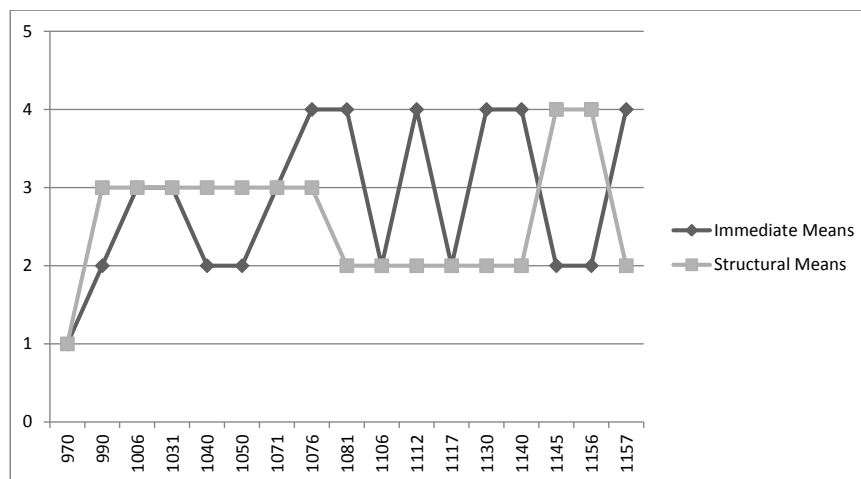


Figure 6.1: Relation of immediate and structural means in the governance of Upper Lusatia ca. 950–1157.

What is striking is the fact that even when faced with an ultimate military threat, the Liudolfings and the first Salians did not resort to the Level 4 means of governance in Milsko. It can be speculated that any external threat forced the uniformity of command and the consolidation of elites (cf. Blaschke 2000/2003, 11–12). These situations did not stir rebellious impulses in the people who governed the provinces, and did not make the king resort to extraordinary measures that would undermine the magnates' honor and position (classified as belonging to Group 4 of the immediate and structural means). The Liudolfings had a fairly comfortable situation in the eastern marches. After all, the Ottonians nominated their *comites* from among their Saxon subjects and loyal supporters. As the German monarchs often visited the neighboring regions (cf. Müller-Mertens 1980, 140–147, *passim*; Alvermann 1998, 203–206; Stieldorf 2012, 441, 449) and even the eastern frontiers for either non-military (Otto III) or military (Henry II) reasons, they had ample opportunities to see for themselves how the situation evolved there. In those circumstances, successive rulers could grant the local margraves a large scope of freedom of action, and even to enlarge it, e.g. by turning their benefices into allods, which in the case of Ekkehard I is evidenced by

Thietmar's chronicle (V 7, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 228–229). It seems, though, that Ekkehard I's rise to power was a formidable memento for Henry II, whose major contender to the throne in 1002 proved to be the then Margrave of Meissen. Hence, the last ruler from the Liudolfing dynasty strove to intensify his control of Ekkehard's legacy by creating a separate *comitatus* in Milsko, which was governed by Count Herman I, and by a generous contribution to the Diocese of Meissen (more on Henry's church and personal policies in Stieldorf 2012, 456–458).

As has been shown in Section 3.2.1, Henry II's policy was originally pursued by his successor, Conrad II, who, however, soon opted out of this approach, letting Ekkehard II unite not only all of his father's marches but also the so-called Saxon Eastern March. Based on the above-mentioned elusive documentation (Chapters 4.1 and 5.6), it seems that Milsko was the area where Ekkehard II was granted fairly broad prerogatives. It can even be argued that in eastern Upper Lusatia, the margrave, who must have had the king's approval, ruled the area destroyed by war (the 1015 campaign) in a sovereign manner. He created his own allodial estates, which were seized by the crown only after his death in 1046, and granted other areas to the Diocese of Meissen. These were by no means unprecedented measures. They were perfectly in line with other steps taken by Ekkehard in agreement with Conrad II (primarily including the change of the seat of the diocese from Zeitz to Naumburg). It seems that Conrad II and Henry III were ready to give virtually all their powers in this distant area away in order to let the Margrave, supported by the bishops, organize both local defense and the basis for offensive steps against Poland and Bohemia. The withdrawal of the monarchs involved not only Upper Lusatia but actually all the eastern foreground of Thuringia. Conrad II and Henry III did not hesitate not only to restore the Ekkehardines in Milsko, but also to install them in the Saxon Eastern March with Lower Lusatia, creating thus a huge conglomerate of land and a bundle of powers over it, finally united in the hands of Ekkehard II in 1038. Both first rulers of the Salian dynasty contributed to the advance of Ekkehard II to the grade of power comparable to the ducal level. They must have trusted him personally and were probably, at the same time, ready to risk creation by the Margrave of a strong center of power in the eastern borderlands of the Empire to checkmate the Piasts and the Přemyslids.

Ekkehard II's position was extremely strong: he wielded more power than Wiprecht of Groitzsch several decades later or Conrad the Great of the House of Wettin a hundred years later. This phenomenon clearly deserves elaboration given that the margrave built his status during the reign of Conrad II, who was known for his tough stand on the material interests of the monarchy (cf. Schneider 1992, 125–127, 135; Wolfram 2006, 191–194, *passim*). Without doubt, the monarch rarely visited this region (cf. Müller-Mertens, Huschner 1992, 153, 344) as he probably chose to rely on the trusted margraves in governing and defending the eastern frontier (cf. Stieldorf 2012, 469), which was continuously in a state of war emergency. There is no denying that Ekkehard II was a loyal supporter of Conrad right from the start of his reign (cf.

Wolfram 2006, 187), which, however, does not explain why the emperor allowed him to concentrate so much power on the eastern frontier. As there is no information on any arrangements between the king and the margrave on this matter, it can only be speculated that the founder of the Salian dynasty assumed that Ekkehard would not leave an heir to his vast allodial estates or a candidate to take over his numerous posts. In the 1030s, when Ekkehard, who was in his forties at the time, took control of the March of Meissen and the Saxon Eastern March, that assumption was risky but it made sense. The margrave had been married since 1026, but had no children. It is probably for this reason that Conrad II broke with Henry II's policy of tighter control of the eastern frontiers of the Empire, despite the erratic relations his predecessor had with the Ekkehardines. It has to be admitted that the emperor's assumption proved to be right: following Ekkehard's death, his allods, including the estates in Eastern Upper Lusatia, were inherited by Conrad II's son and successor, Henry III, and the marches of the deceased divided anew according to his will.

Ekkehard II's inheritance was divided by Henry III in 1046. However, this did not yet mark a dramatic change in the general policy line pursued by Conrad II. The frontier territories (Upper and Lower Lusatia) remained under the governance of a single margrave, Dedi II (from the family closely cooperating with Conrad II) and were regarded as his 'special demesne'. The changes implemented after Dedi II's conflict with Henry IV in 1069, when Milsko was reunited with the March of Meissen (as I tried to show in section 3.2.2), were also rather superficial in nature; however, given Egbert II's minority, they had a very beneficial effect on the monarch in a short-term perspective. All of the briefly discussed examples from the period of the first Salians yield a fairly coherent image. When an opportunity to increase the king's influence on the remote eastern provinces arose (either through the inheritance of the deceased margrave's estates or a clever division of the territories between the counts), the monarchs would seize it. In general, however, the emperors neither made demanding investments nor entered into conflicts with the Saxon elite to increase their scope of power in the remote peripheries of the Empire.

It was not until Egbert II joined the Saxon rebellion that Henry IV decided to take drastic measures. The king was forced to turn to one of the immediate means from Group 4, a move which was rightly viewed by the Saxons as both radical and unjust. He granted the eastern provinces to *homines novi*: first to Vratislav II, then to Wiprecht of Groitzsch. It is striking that in the period from the reign of Henry IV until the reign of Lothair III, the intensification of the immediate means of governance was not accompanied by the intensification of the structural means. In fact, the trend was the reverse: the *homines novi* governed the provinces on more beneficial terms than members of the old Saxon elite. They were granted the rule of Milsko not as a *comitatus*, but as a benefice (Vratislav II, Wiprecht of Groitzsch, Hoyer of Mansfeld). Sometimes they were even offered additional prerogatives of power. It can thus be concluded that the closer the personal relationship between the king and the province governor was, the weaker the structural means of governance were used by

the monarchs. Interestingly, Upper and Lower Lusatia differed in this respect from the areas situated to the west, where Henry IV and Henry V established burgraviates in Meissen and Dohna. In doing so, they combined the most intensive direct means (by replacing the regional governors with *homines novi*) and similar structural means (by creating new institutions).

In Upper Lusatia, this sort of policy was applied only by Conrad III and Frederick I in the early years of his reign. They reincorporated Upper Lusatia into the margraval system and strived at increasing direct royal control over it. It is hard to judge whether this was an attempt of a systemic change, aiming at expanding the zone of direct rule of the monarchs in the eastern provinces, or rather a spin-off effect of the general unease in Bohemia after the death of Soběslav I, which forced the Staufers to tighten their control over the borderland. It was, however, perfectly in line with other measures taken by Conrad III and Frederick I, aiming at systematic expansion of the royal power basis in the eastern provinces. Given this background, it might be concluded that it was only short-term political needs (the need to win the support of Vladislav II) that were behind Frederick I's decision to offer Milsko as a fief to Vladislav II in 1157 (cf. Sobiesiak 2011, 93–94). On the other hand, it must be recalled here that as soon as Vladislav II found his rule over Bohemia stable enough to get engaged in Italian affairs of Frederick I, the emperor gave him away all his powers in Upper Lusatia, including the newly created burgraviate. Moreover, he never tried to retrieve the land, in spite of having many opportunities to (see below, section 6.1.3). Thus, the second monarch from the Stauffic dynasty returned to the policy of “Bohemian gambit”, which was started by Henry IV and will be still commented on below, in the section 6.1.3. At the same time, the land of the Nižane was left in the hands of the Margrave of Meissen and under supervision of the royal burgrave of Dohna. This shows the actual limits of royal ambitions under Frederick I: to control the main route from Meissen to Bohemia, but not necessarily Upper Lusatia.

6.1.2 Strategies of the territorial rulers

Just as in the case of Henry III and Henry IV, calculation of Frederick I to loosen control over Upper Lusatia proved wrong. The territorial rulers pursued their own policies, usually in accordance with subsequent monarchs, whose grace “fuelled” their advance, but always keeping in mind their own positions and interests of their families. We know well what those policies led to: the Kingdom of Germany was eventually split into autonomous territorial lordships. This fact has long had a bearing on the interpretation of events that took place in the High Middle Ages. Leaving aside the historiographical problem of whether and to what extent the extension of power basis by the dukes and margraves in the tenth to twelfth centuries prepared the grounds for future events, it is worth looking at the example of Upper Lusatia to see what opportunities the territorial rulers were offered, and how they

made use of them. This problem has already been discussed above in connection with the Ekkehardines. The example of this family clearly shows that the construction of a power base in the eastern provinces was until the mid-tenth century largely dependent on the approval of successive kings. They decided on the nominations in the eastern marches (however, with the approval of the Saxon elites; cf. the case of the deposition of Gunzelin from the March of Meissen in 1009: Thietmar VI, 55, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9, 340–343) but also on the range of competences and prerogatives of the individuals governing the provinces. Those prerogatives, in particular under the Ekkehardines, could be surprisingly large. The genesis of the episcopal estates in eastern Upper Lusatia shows that the margraves in this most remote province were even granted some of royal powers, i.e. the right to alienate estates. As already mentioned, Conrad II's political calculations could have been related to Ekkehard II's childlessness. Nevertheless, although in the 1030's the monarch had enough data to suppose that Ekkehard II would die childless, it was still a probability, in no case a certainty. Eventually, following the margrave's death, Henry III was engaged in dividing his inheritance and taking over his allodial estates. It is significant that also after 1046 the rulers did not interfere with the governance of Milsko. They restricted their activity to granting the estates inherited from the Ekkehardines as fiefs. There is also no information whether the margraves themselves strove to build autonomous power bases in the remote regions. It seems that both parties were satisfied with this state of affairs: even though province governance did not bring any special profits to the ruler or the margraves, it did not generate substantial costs, either.

When in 1076 Upper Lusatia was granted by Henry IV to the *homo novus*, Vratislav II, the situation did not change significantly. The Bohemian duke treated this area in a similar way as the Saxon elites did. He quickly ceded the troublesome provinces behind the mountains to Wiprecht II of Groitzsch, who showed a more 'managerial' approach to the land he had received along with the hand of Duchess Judith. It was under Wiprecht and his son Henry that the Church of St. Wenceslaus in Jauernick was probably founded and the first fortification in Görlitz was constructed. It is also worth noting that Duchess Judith and her son, Count Henry, resided in Budyšin, at least temporarily. Moreover, some of the coins of Henry of Groitzsch were probably struck in Budyšin and the composition of the hoard from Kaschwitz leaves no doubt that the younger son of Wiprecht II established his effective monetary monopoly in Upper Lusatia (cf. details in App. 7.1.4). On the other hand, there is no information about any strong involvement on the part of the Groitzsch lords to build a sovereign lordship in Upper Lusatia (e.g. erecting castles, colonization efforts or foundation of monasteries). Nevertheless, the control of Wiprecht II of Groitzsch over Upper Lusatia was probably significantly stronger and more stable than the rule of his contemporary, Henry I of Eilenburg, over Lower Lusatia – as shown by the renowned episode noted down in the Nienburg Fragment, when Margrave Henry had to restore his authority over the easternmost fringes of that province by force (CDA 5, 353; see also Lehmann 1963, 24). We also must take into account that the house of Groitzsch

actually did not have enough time, opportunities and motivation to effectively strive for a territorial lordship in Upper Lusatia: Wiprecht II was deprived of the territory for five years (1112–1117) or longer, and his son Henry, having no male heir, at least from the year 1128 was ready to give it away according to the suggestions of Lothair III. Would he act like this having a son able to take over the heritage? Or rather would he tend to build a strong lordship based on Upper Lusatia? Answers to these questions lay, unfortunately, far beyond the possibilities of historical inquiry.

The policy pursued by Duke Soběslav I in Upper Lusatia may be, on the contrary, seen very clearly and interpreted as aiming at the creation of an exclave of strong and direct influence of this ruler. With the acquisition of Eastern Upper Lusatia as a benefice, and then the whole of Milsko from Lothair III, Duke Soběslav I took a wide range of measures to build his *de facto* autonomous lordship. He erected and extended a fortified stronghold in Görlitz and donated tribute money to the Bohemian Church. He also probably made a mutually beneficial exchange of lands with the Bishop of Meissen, and relieved the bishop's subjects from the duty to build ringforts (cf. details in section 4.4.1). Such a policy fits well into the general view of Soběslav I's activity as a ruler, who built or rebuilt several castles on the borders of his realm (Přimda, Tachov, Kłodzko, Görlitz), which were controlled directly by him (FRB 2, 205, 206, 212–213, 394; cf. Žemlička 1997, 177). As far as it may be assessed basing upon scarce source reference, these military establishments served not only as lodgments for military campaigns – which at least Görlitz and Kłodzko undoubtedly were – but also strengthened ducal control over the realm, blocking important passages into Bohemia. Ducal castles on the fringes of the land – as *castrum munitissimum* Přimda or Dohna – were also used in the twelfth century as places of imprisonment for the ruling duke's competitors (FRB 2, 268, 419, 452, 465, 467–468).

All of the measures taken by Soběslav in the borderland of the Empire, including those in the lands on the Nysa, were endorsed by Lothair III. They lead us into believing that the emperor gave his tacit or explicit agreement to create in the eastern provinces a complex of estates and prerogatives concentrated by the befriended ruler from the Přemyslid dynasty, even if that meant diminishing his own powers. It can even be hypothesized that Soběslav's set of estates and prerogatives (aptly called *cura Sirbiae* by a Bohemian chronicler) could have turned into something more permanent, had it not been for the turmoil in Bohemia in the 1140s. Worth noting is the fact that after the death of the energetic Bohemian duke, the German king recognized the assumption of the *cura Sirbiae* by his successor even though Soběslav was not succeeded by his son (which could have undermined Vladislav II's right to receive this part of his uncle's realm, being held by him as a benefice). It was only after Vladislav II was dethroned that Conrad III decided to reclaim the Přemyslids' possessions.

That land was granted to Conrad the Great of Wettin, who thus united most of the Groitzsch lords' legacy. Interestingly, the new governor of Milsko and Zagozd began his rule with a dispute with the Bishop of Meissen over the scope of his power over the bishop's subjects. This fact is not surprising given that from 1081 Upper Lusatia

was not a part of any *comitatus*, which could have triggered doubts over the scope of duties of the inhabitants of episcopal villages. On the other hand, this should be interpreted as a *signum temporis*. What this meant was that Conrad, just like Soběslav I, seriously approached the basis and scope of the power that was entrusted to him in the remote provinces of the Empire (similar problems were at the very same time being resolved by him also for other parts of his dominion, cf. Ziegler 2008, 485–486). This approach of the new lord of Upper Lusatia could have had also an economic dimension, as all of the identified coins in the hoard from Purschwitz were struck on behalf of the Margrave (unfortunately, only four coins were identified, cf. details in App. 7.1.4). Conrad's approach becomes easier to understand in the context of the appointment of royal burgraves in Meissen and Dohna. Following this decision, Milsko and Zagozd remained those parts of the Groitzsch lords' legacy where Conrad had the greatest freedom of action (cf. the remarks of Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 83–84, *passim* on the bad situation of the Wettins compared to their competitors in the land of Nižane). This did not last for long. Already at the beginning of the reign of Conrad III's successor, Frederick I, royal estates in Upper Lusatia were taken into account by composing the Registry of Royal Table Estates. Finally, Milsko and Zagozd were taken out of the Wettins' control and came under direct imperial supervision through the appointment of the Burgrave of Budyšin in 1156.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that approximately until the reign of Henry V, the territorial rulers (the Dukes of Bohemia and the margraves) didn't tend to build strong power bases in Milsko. We must be aware, however, that both the range of royal delegation of powers and the lack of practical interest of the monarchs in how the province was governed in detail probably did not motivate the territorial rulers to build their castles or found monasteries there. It must be also remembered that all the possessors of Upper Lusatia in the eleventh and early twelfth century – including the *homines novi*, the Groitzsch lords – had their main residences and church foundations elsewhere and thus were not willing to invest in Upper Lusatia first. The situation changed considerably during the reign of Lothair III. From that moment on, the policies of the successive monarchs were confronted with the increasingly active strategies employed by the territorial rulers, the undertakings of Soběslav I being the best example thereof. Eventual success of those strategies in this period was, however, still strongly dependent on the support of the monarchs.

6.1.3 The “Bohemian gambit” of Henry IV and its legacy

A good example of the interdependence of the monarchs and territorial rulers is the situation of Upper Lusatia after 1076 or rather 1081, when it was granted as a benefice to Duke Vratislav II. From that moment on, this land was frequently treated by the German kings as a bargaining chip for which they could ‘buy’ the friendship of the Bohemian dukes. Such a step was only possible because of the profound change of

the relations of the kings of Germany with their eastern neighbors, as compared to the beginning of the eleventh century. The young monarchies of East-Central Europe were in the 1070's or 1080's no longer a primary threat for the kings from the Salian dynasty – as long as their rulers didn't conspire against the king with his really dangerous antagonists, the Saxon opposition (as Bolesław II the Generous of Poland did). In such circumstances, it was much more important for Henry IV to get rid of disloyal margraves even at the cost of passing some provinces to an external ruler (Vratislav II) or his Saxon relative (Wiprecht II of Groitzsch). Such a strategy, hardly imaginable from the viewpoint of present international relations, was a part of a masterly gambit. The successful collaboration of Henry IV and Vratislav II showed that good relations with the dukes of Bohemia allowed the emperor to assure both internal and external security of the eastern borderland of the Empire. To give one province away as a fief in order to check all potential enemies – the Piasts, the Árpáds and their own Saxon subjects – was, after all, quite a good deal for the emperors. That is why Henry V, Lothair III, and later also Conrad III before 1143 and Frederick I after 1156 followed in the footsteps of Henry IV, building their eastern policy upon the alliance with the dukes of Bohemia.

Such a consequent strategy of “buying” the support of the Dukes of Bohemia i.a. through granting them Upper Lusatia – interrupted only in the later years of Conrad III's reign and in the early years of Frederick I (1143–1157) – had a strong impact on the further history of this land. From 1157 until 1635 (formally even longer), it was a part of the Bohemian political system. Frederick I was probably not aware of (and maybe even not interested in) the long-term consequences of his decisions concerning Milsko made in 1157. It is striking, however, that throughout the subsequent 33 years of his rule the energetic emperor made no efforts to reverse the consequences of those decisions, although he had fairly many opportunities to do so. In fact, Frederick I in the years 1172–1190 exercised such a strong impact on Bohemia, as none of his predecessors had. Even if the creation of the Margraviate of Moravia by the emperor is only a historiographical, not historical fact, it cannot be denied that it was Frederick who instituted a few subsequent monarchs in Bohemia, for a few years occupied one of Bohemian provinces (Sedlecko) and proclaimed the Bishop of Prague a Prince of the Empire (*Reichsfürst*) (see Kejř 1992, 260–282). Neither his predecessors nor successors held so much power over Bohemia. At the same time, the emperor not only made no efforts to recover Upper Lusatia, but even left it in the hands of the Přemyslids along with the Burgraviate in Budyšin, which was in 1175 administered by a Bohemian noble named Wok (cf. CDB 1, no. 278: *Woc prefectus de Budisin*). It seems, therefore, that even if the decision to practically withdraw from Upper Lusatia in 1157 was made by the emperor on an *ad hoc* basis, it was seen by the monarch as rational and well-founded also through further 33 years of his reign. If Frederick wanted to occupy some possession of the Duke of Bohemia, this was not the distant land upon Spree and Nysa, but Sedlecko, directly neighboring to his demesne around Cheb (Eger). It seems, therefore, that after 1156 Frederick I shifted from the policies employed by

Conrad III and himself quite knowingly and purposedly. With the Přemyslids, as weak as never, in Upper Lusatia and five sons of Conrad the Great of Wettin in the fatherly allods and marches, the emperor had every right to assume that there was no real threat for his rule in the southern Polabia and no need to maintain any extraordinary measures of direct control over most remote provinces of his realm.

A look at the later history of Upper Lusatia shows clearly that it was the institutional framework created by the second Staufer on the German throne (the royal dignity of the Bohemian ruler, the beneficiary status of Upper Lusatia, and the Burgraviate of Budyšin) that allowed the Přemyslids to maintain permanent control of this province. It has to be admitted that if granting Upper Lusatia as a fief to Vladislav II in 1157 finally resulted in this region falling out of royal control, then the strategy of the intensification of the structural means, applied in the period 1142–1156, could have theoretically been more beneficial for the Crown. However, this problem calls for further research on the period after 1157 and the actual scope of power exercised by the Přemyslids in this region. It cannot be also ruled out that Frederick I's volte-face in 1157 should be interpreted in the context of general transformations in the structure of the Empire under this monarch, whose relationships with the princes was increasingly becoming based on feudal grants. It is against this background that the fiasco of this policy should be evaluated: after the death of Henry VI, within one generation, the princes of the Empire (*Reichsfürsten*) gained considerable sovereignty and Bohemia turned into a strong kingdom, keeping in grasp some imperial territories (i.a. Upper Lusatia). However, probably neither Frederick I nor his contemporaries were able to foresee such a course of events in the mid-twelfth century or even later. After all, it was *dominium mundi*, and not direct control over the infrastructure of governance and the resources of all provinces of the Empire that was concerning Barbarossa and his counselors. From this point of view, it was much more important for the monarch to have the Duke of Bohemia aside under the walls of Milan than to personally appoint the burgrave in Budyšin.

6.2 The infrastructure of governance and its developments

The effectiveness of power exercise in the provinces was dependent on the quality of infrastructure and the amount of control over it. In the early years of the period discussed in this book, the infrastructure consisted primarily of military facilities, i.e. ringforts. As I have tried to show in Chapter 2, in Upper Lusatia, including its eastern part originally inhabited by the *Besunzane*, the key phase of the military infrastructure extension occurred most probably before the incorporation of this land into Ekkehard I's march and was carried out by the Milčane. However, the details of this process remain unknown and will remain so until further archaeological research, ideally based on state-of-the-art absolute dating methodology, bring new conclusive data. Due to the lack of adequate dating of archaeological sites, it is difficult to determine

the contribution of Ekkehard and his successors (including the Piasts) to the extension of Milsko's military infrastructure after ca. 990. Probably, it was mainly reorganized (e.g. the construction or extension of the *castrum minus* on Landeskrone). The Ekkehardines' largest organizational contribution was indisputably the introduction of the burgward organization in Milsko. As was indicated in sub-chapters 5.3–5.4, in all likelihood, the system originally spread up to the easternmost sections of the region. However, in Eastern Upper Lusatia, there are no clear traces of it because the subregion was completely devastated in 1015, and was restored under a totally different organizational structure: demesnes owned by the margraves (later by the kings) and the bishops.

Compared to the time of the intensive campaigns for Milsko in 1002–1031, in the later periods the military infrastructure in Eastern Upper Lusatia was considerably smaller. In the mid-eleventh century both internal and external pacification took place in Upper Lusatia and there was no need to maintain numerous ringforts any more. This phenomenon may be observed also in the easternmost part of the region, which was subject to a detailed study in the Chapter 5. With the current state of knowledge, it is difficult to determine how long the hillforts in Niedów and Jauernick were in use. As for the former, site no. 1 was in operation up to a certain time when it was probably replaced by the defensive facility in Ręczyn. It seems, however, that in the eleventh century those facilities were the centers of the ecclesiastical (Niedów/Ręczyn) and secular demesnes as in the latter part of that century they served as the seats of proto-parishes. The stronghold in Niedów/Ręczyn was probably – until the twelfth century construction of the castle in Zawidów (mentioned in 1188: CDS 2–1, no. 61) – the only defensive facility in the episcopal estates. There were probably two others in the secular demesne: the bipartite stronghold in Bratków and the *Drewnow* hillfort in what was later to be Görlitz. The largest of these facilities (and probably the most frequently used) was the stronghold in Bratków, which provides evidence for the significance of the contacts with Bohemia through the Nysa Valley. The situation changed dramatically in Eastern Upper Lusatia when it was granted to Soběslav I, who established the center of the newly-founded *pagus Isgorelik* in Görlitz, probably due to his geopolitical reorientation (the alliance with King Lothair III and the conflict with the Polish duke, Bolesław III Wrymouth).

Based on the limited number of sources, it can be argued that in Eastern Upper Lusatia, the non-military elements of the infrastructure were extensively developed, in view of the fact it was the most remote of the provinces. The period before 1071 saw the process of internal colonization, which resulted in the establishment of the local demesne around Görlitz. Worth emphasizing is the fact that both the secular and ecclesiastical demesnes had their own proto-parishes already in the latter half of the eleventh century or in the early twelfth century. The infrastructure of governance was maintained and extended by the representatives of the royal power in the region: either counts or beneficial possessors. The initiative of the monarchs themselves or the court circles should not be overestimated here. The establishment of the royal

estates by the Nysa River was not a result of any consciously far-sighted policies of the Salians. It was rather a ‘spin-off’ effect of another event, which was the extinction of the Ekkehardines, legacy of whom was taken over by Henry III. In fact, only the reigns of Lothair III in Germany (1125–1137) and of Soběslav I in Bohemia (1125–1140) brought a profound change in the attitude of first the territorial rulers and then the monarchs towards the local infrastructure of governance. This conclusion is fully consistent with the results obtained in Chapters 3–4 and related to in the sections 6.1.1–6.1.2: intensification of policies of, first, territorial rulers, and only later the monarchs, towards Upper Lusatia in the same period.

6.3 Concluding remarks and epilogue

Finally, the question must be asked, what do we learn from the study on a region that was – according to the evidence collected in the sub-chapter 1.3 – virtually the furthest pertinence for all the policies that were trying to govern it? First and foremost, it must be stated that the results of the above study are concordant with the general assumption presented in the sub-chapter 1.2 that the most effective way of ruling such a province was to “outsource” its management. This was certainly the general strategy of most of the monarchs towards Upper Lusatia in the High Middle Ages. The only exceptions from that practice before ca 1200 were the policies of Henry II and Conrad II at the beginning of his reign and of the first two Staufers, who really tried to tighten their control over the eastern borderland, including not only Upper but also Lower Lusatia (cf. Lehmann 1966, 7–9). Nevertheless, the prevailing attitude of the monarchs was to avoid exercising direct control over their easternmost province, though without losing their overlordship. In the tenth century a comfortable way to get rid of directly governing Upper Lusatia was to leave it to the local Slavic polity (the Milčane), and from the 1080’s on: to grant this region as a benefice to either Saxon nobles or Dukes of Bohemia. Admittedly, between those two periods there was a ca. 90-years’ long *intermezzo* when royal margraves ruled Milsko. However, only for about six years there was a separate count residing in Budyšin and only until ca. 1046 Upper Lusatia was perceived as a separate territory, that might be called “a potential march”. Moreover, this period of relatively tighter royal control concurred with the times of increased rivalry between the monarchs of East-Central Europe (1002–1054). This may be brought in accordance with another assumption presented in the sub-chapter 1.2: that governance intensity increased when the stability of rule of a center of power in a given province decreased due to an external threat. As long as the threat was over in the 1040’s and 1050’s, Upper Lusatia ceased being a subject of particular interest for either monarchs or their counts.

In the first chapter of this book it has been stated that the possessing of the most remote provinces of a larger polity could have been perceived as an opportunity for the territorial rulers and nobles to build strong foundations for their power and position. It

has to be recalled here that the margraves ruling both Upper and Lower Lusatia were granted a huge portion of freedom in those lands, the case of Ekkehard II being the best example of such a practice. Also the position of later beneficial possessors of Upper Lusatia was strong and until 1143 in fact not limited by the direct influence of the monarchs, which became real and direct only in 1156. In face of such royal liberality, it seems puzzling that it was only Soběslav I who actively took full advantage of all the powers and possibilities granted to him by Emperor Lothair III, founding a castle in Görlitz, granting incomes from the area to some church institute chosen by him and so on. On the other hand, some insights into the local infrastructure of governance presented in the Chapter 5 show clearly that both the Ekkehardines and the lords of Groitzsch were not passive in this most remote province, organizing resettlement of devastated areas, maintaining some fortresses and founding churches; the same may be said about the Bishops of Meissen. Our view of past developments may also be to some extent distorted by the rapid extinction of the Ekkehardines and the lords of Groitzsch. Notwithstanding, even those families, for whom the possessing of Upper Lusatia must have been important, were focused primarily on their main areas of interest, i.e. their hereditary possessions and marches. One may hypothesize that they simply didn't have enough resources to actively colonize and integrate such distant areas. It seems, therefore, that Upper Lusatia was for a long time an extremely remote periphery not only for the monarchs, but also for other actors.

The perception of Upper Lusatia among the representatives of the political authority at various levels seems to have changed, at least to some extent, during the reigns of Lothair III in Germany (1125–1137) and of Soběslav I in Bohemia (1125–1140). The region which by then had been regarded as a rather unattractive, troublesome and remote province that had to be quickly ceded (as in the case of Vratislav II) became a place where the territorial rulers attempted to extend their power while the German kings tried to maintain the impact on who would rule the area and in what way. In this respect, Upper Lusatia did not differ much from other areas of southern Polabia. Also in the neighboring Poland under Bolesław III Wrymouth (1102–1138) attempts were made to tighten the ducal control of the borderlands through creation of marches (cf. Lalik 1966, 830, *passim*, and further references by Gawlas 2000, 74–75, 187, fn. 913–914).¹⁴⁷ Admittedly, in Upper Lusatia the royal authority started its “structural offensive” two generations later than in the land of the Nižane. It was not until 1156 that the Burgraviate of Budyšin was established by Frederick I, while an analogous institution was set up in Dohna at the initiative of Henry V in 1112. On the other hand, the burgraviate for Lower Lusatia (in Cottbus) was founded as late as in Budyšin. The fate of those burgraviates was also significant: both of them came out of the control of the kings soon after 1156, the former probably turned into a noble estate (cf. Lehmann 1966, 7, 14, 21–24) and the latter: taken over by the Přemyslids. It seems, therefore,

¹⁴⁷ Of much older date was the margravian organization in Hungary, cf. Font 2008, 201–203.

that in the long run it was not the objective of the kings of Germany to control directly either Upper or Lower Lusatia (cf. also above, section 6.1.1). That is how those regions fell into hands of the territorial rulers. The Přemyslids after 1156, even though they still had no resources to massively colonize and re-organize the land, kept the Burgraviate of Budyšin under their control, and thus practically retained the rule over the region. That was their springboard to the full control over this province, obtained both on formal and practical levels under King Přemysl Ottocar I (1198–1230).

From the above we may learn that sole désintéressement of the German kings with their easternmost provinces did not create a vacuum, which automatically would be filled by any of the actors involved: the margraves, Saxon nobles, or – last but not least – other monarchs. In fact, this vacuum was filled with some structures allowing for effective control over the land only in 1156 (the burgraviate of Budyšin) and after 1212 (chartered towns and villages, noble domains and royal castles founded on behalf of Přemysl Ottocar I). Before the mid-twelfth century neither the kings nor their potential competitors – with the significant exception of Soběslav I, who fitted first the *pagus Isgorelik*, and later the *cura Sirbiae* into the framework of his active policies inland and abroad – were ready to invest huge resources in this area by building castles, founding monasteries, launching colonization and so on. On the other hand, basic control over the infrastructure of governance was maintained and some important investments made, both by the margraves before 1081 (e.g. resettlement and colonization in the Eastern Upper Lusatia) and by the lords of Groitzsch (e.g. foundation of the parish church in Jauernick). Therefore, it seems that both the kings and territorial rulers were willing to and capable of investing in the power basis in the eastern provinces but probably not able to mobilize huge resources for that purpose. This resembles the situation of Theoderic of Landsberg after 1156, who made various efforts in order to build strong basis of power in Saxon Eastern March and Lower Lusatia, but faced shortage of resources to invest (money, colonists, skilled professionals), at least compared to the excessive requirements (cf. Lindner 2013, 161).

It was probably the shortage of assets to invest confronted with low expected return rates that made Vratislav I in 1080's and Frederick I in 1157 give walkover in Upper Lusatia. What is very instructive in this context, is that in the 1150's, unlike 80 years before, neither the monarch nor the territorial rulers – the margrave and the bishop – withdrew from the land of the Nižane. It seems that in the mid-twelfth century this region was already developed and organized well enough to become subject of vivid interest of theirs as a source of income and a strategically important place where sovereign lordship could be created (cf. here Thieme, Kobuch 2005, 81–87). On the contrary, both in the 1070's/1080's and after 1156, the monarchs were ready to give Lower and Upper Lusatia away with no regrets. Moreover, this désintéressement of the kings was accompanied by désintéressement of other actors, which in Upper Lusatia lasted at least until the last quarter of the twelfth century.

It was only in the 1180's that we hear about a conflict of the Bishop Martin of Meissen with nobles from the Kittlitz family, concerning the Zawidów (*mons Syden* = Seidenberg) domain (CDS 2–1, no. 61; cf. lately Dannenberg 2010, 50); also the beginnings of the merchant settlements which later evolved into chartered towns (cf. Blaschke 1984/2003; Blaschke 1997/2003b) and of the rural colonization by Görlitz¹⁴⁸ probably reached before the year 1200. These processes were running parallel to the active policy of Bolesław the Tall, Duke of Silesia, who in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century was building an enclave of his concentrated power in the southwestern corner of his duchy (cf. Zientara 1971/2013, 71–77; Wójcik 2006, 73–74; Fokt 2015, 14). It was probably then that the Upper Road was created, becoming not only potential source of income for the rulers but also an incentive for the local economic growth. Around the year 1200, the wave of colonists from the west reached this province, which was soon transformed on behalf of the Přemyslids and their competitors, the Bishops of Meissen, into a well-developed and urbanized land. This was, however, a different story than the one we know from the previous period: a story of a region, where there were assets to compete for, and of the parties who were capable of mobilizing enough support, money, settlers, knights and merchants to effectively take part in such a contest. These two factors – profitability of possessing a particular province and ability of the rulers to mobilize respective assets in order to effectively control it – seem to have been key issues in the High Middle Ages. Only the regions, where these factors met, became subjects to the intensive and lasting interest of the monarchs and territorial rulers. This is, however, a different story to tell, concerning the period after 1156.

148 The methodology of identifying the oldest merchant settlements developed by Blaschke was, partially justly, criticized by Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa (1978); nevertheless, especially in case of Görlitz the sole existence of the original settlement by the St.-Nicolas Church (*Nikolaikirche*) suggests the very beginnings of this center at least a generation before the first mention of the chartered town in 1234, probably not later than the beginnings of the rural colonization, which, according to the dendrochronological dating of the church in Ludwigsdorf (Noky et al. 2005, 6, *passim*), began certainly before the year 1200.

7 Appendices

7.1 Catalogues of Upper Lusatian silver finds from the ninth/tenth – mid-twelfth centuries

In the following appendix, silver deposits from the ninth–mid-twelfth centuries are presented. In particular catalogues (7.1.1–4), the finds are listed in alphabetical order. In the catalogue records only the newest and the most essential of the older publications (in which other works were cited) have been referenced. The most recent, unpublished finds were not listed. Following abbreviations were used: AD – year of the Christian era; AH – year of the Muslim era; Ldkr. – Landkreis; tpq – *terminus post quem*.

7.1.1 The finds concealed in period 1 according to Ch. Kilger (2000)

1. Bautzen, Ldkr. Bautzen (DE), no site no.

1. Context. Precise circumstances of discovery unknown; the hoard was registered in Leipzig in 1845 as found “in the vicinity of Bautzen”. According to W. Hollstein, the hoard originated from Rodewitz by Bautzen (Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 219). It could not have been, however, identical with the find uncovered there in 1844, which consisted of bracteates dating from the twelfth century, listed by G. Köhler (1850) only 6 years after being discovered.

2. Chronology. Tpq: 965 AD.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: 3 older cross deniers (see Dutschmann 1926, Taf. XX). **3b.** Non-monetary components: 1 pendant, 2 ear-rings, 4 whole silver sheet beads ornamented with granulation, 1 piece of such bead and 1 segment of wire¹⁴⁹ (Dutschmann 1926, 130, Taf. XIX, XX).

4. Essential references. Dutschmann 1926, 130–131, Taf. XX (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 127 (with further ref.); Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 79, 99–100; Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 219, 225–226; Košnar 2010, 91–92.

2. Bischdorf, Ldkr. Görlitz (DE), no site no.

1. Context. The silver hoard was discovered in 1842 on a field in a ceramic vessel. The find is frequently situated by different authors in Sohland am Rotstein, although it was undoubtedly discovered within the limits of Bischdorf (Dutschmann 1926, 131).

¹⁴⁹ The problems of the homogeneity and actual function of the find from Bautzen are complicated; some of them may be cleared by the on-going analyze, being conducted in the GWZO in Leipzig by dr Joanna Wojnicz, whom I would like to thank for the discussion on that topic in October 2016.

2. Chronology. Tpq: AH 338 = AD 949/950. The tpq was based upon the assertion of Dutschmann (1926, 132), who described one of the dirhams of Nuh ibn-Nasr as bearing a date AH 338 (there was also one dirham dating allegedly from AH 344, but, as it was signed with the name of al-Mustakfi-billah, this statement was probably result of an editorial mistake). Despite that, in recent publications the hoard from Bischdorf is referred to as dating from AD 944 (see Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 219).

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: two Abbasid dirhams of Al-Mustakfi Billah (aš-Šāš, AH 333 and Buhārā, AH 334), two Sāmānid dirhams of Nuh inb Nasr (Buhārā, AH 338 and one dirham with date and mint unspecified). **3b.** Non-monetary components: two ear-rings and two segments of silver wire (see Dutschmann 1926, Taf. XXI; Richthofen ed. 2004, 113, Abb. 69).

4. Essential references. Dutschmann 1926, 131-132, Taf. XXI; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 182-183, Abb. 112/5 (with further ref.); Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 70-71, 73, 86; Richthofen ed. 2004, 112-113, Abb. 69; Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 219, 226-227.

3. Kamenz, Ldkr. Bautzen (DE), no site no.

1. Context. The hoard found before 1850 in Kamenz or its vicinity.

2. Chronology. Tpq 936 (the only identified coin was a penny issued by Otto I, 936-973).

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: allegedly one penny of Otto I and "two similar coins" (NLM 27:1850, 86). **3b.** Non-monetary components: unknown.

4. Essential references. NLM 27:1850, 86; Kiersnowski 1964, 40, no. 82 (with further ref.); Herrman, Donat eds. 1985, 116 (with further ref.).

4. Meschwitz, Ldkr. Bautzen (DE), site no. 2

1. Context. The hoard was discovered in 1878 on a field, upon a hill, SW from Meschwitz, near Hochkirch, under a huge block of granite, between two other stones. Coins and ornaments were wrapped in linen cloths and hidden in two separate ceramic vessels.

2. Chronology. Tpq: AH 350 = AD 961/962.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: 272 g of Western and Oriental coins fragmented to various degree, among which 47 attributed to certain issuers. Most of those were attributed to Islamic rulers: 16 to Nasr Ibn Ahmad (913-942), 12 to Nuh ibn Nasr (952-954), 4 to Ahmad ibn Isma'il (907-913), 2 to Imad ed-Daula (932-949), 1 to Isma'il ibn Ahmad (892-907), 1 to a-Radid-billah (934-940), 1 to Abd-el-Malik ibn Nuh (954-961), 1 to Mansur ibn Nuh (961-976). The body of Western coins consisted of: 18 exemplars identified as German deniers without further specification, 7 Italian issues of Otto I struck in Rome and Pavia (936-973), 1 denier of Duke Eberhard of Bavaria (937-938), 1 penny of King Eadgar of England (959-975) and 1 coin specified as older cross denier (see Dutschmann 1926, 129; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 148-149). **3b.** Non-monetary components: 206,5 g of fragmented silver jewelry (more than 236 pieces), among others a twisted wire neck-

ring with changing plot density¹⁵⁰, 2 upper parts of earrings with chains for pendants, at least 14 such chains with pendants of different types¹⁵¹, 3 open-work beads, at least 4 hollow silver sheet beads, a few pieces of such beads (among them, ones ornamented with granulation), numerous segments of wires and chains. According to G. Dutschmann, apart from the only whole ornament, that is the neck-ring weighing 39 g, there were also 94 g of pieces of arm-rings, 27 g of fragmented earrings and their pieces (chains, pendants), 22,7 g of fragmented silver sheet beads and 23,8 g of unspecifiable scrap silver (see Dutschmann 1926, 129–130, Abb. 19, Taf. XIX).

4. Essential references. Feyerabend 1894; Dutschmann 1926, 128–130, Taf. XIX; Žak 1958, 41 (with further ref.); Kiersnowski 1964, 48 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 148–149, Abb. 107/82; Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 70, 73–75, 78, 82, 90, 106–107; Oexle, Bauer, Winzeler eds. 1998, 21; Richthofen ed. 2004, 96, Abb. 27-28; Richthofen 2007, 239, Abb. 12; Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 219, 226–227; Enke, Probst eds. 2011, 55, 2/11.

5. Ostro, Ldkr. Bautzen (DE), no site no.

1. Context. The coin was discovered in the area of the large ringfort in Ostro (the object was inhabited both in the middle Slavic and late Slavic periods, cf. Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 119).

2. Chronology. Probably ninth – tenth centuries; the lack of precise stratigraphic context of the find does not allow for further assumptions.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: one denier of Louis III “the German” (843–876).

4. Essential references. Haupt 1929; Kiersnowski 1964, 50 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 119 (with further ref.).

7.1.2 The finds concealed probably in the periods 2-3 according to Ch. Kilger (2000), ca. 987/990 – ca. 1060

1. Cortnitz, Ldkr. Bautzen (DE), no site no.

1. Context. The hoard dispersed upon an arable field N from the village Cortnitz, documented in 2005 (see Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 212–213). No trace of a ceramic container registered (see Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 227).

¹⁵⁰ Dutschmann 1926, Taf. XIX; see also similar finds from Łubowo and Psary in Greater Poland (Wielkopolska): Slaski, Tabaczyński 1959, 39, ryc. 12, 55, ryc. 16; Stenberger 1958, Abb. 36–37, and further remarks by Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 105–106 and Dutschmann 1926, 129.

¹⁵¹ Among them there was one probably meant by P. Charvát (2000, 265) as analogous to a pentagonal piece of the earring found in grave 106b in Stará Kouřim (see Šolle 1966, 40a–b:1ab). Certain identification of respective silver find is, however, not possible, as in respective annotation (Charvát 2000, 265, fn. 69) P. Charvát refers to an illustration where only coins, not ornaments, were displayed (Oexle, Bauer, Winzeler eds. 1998, 21).

2. Chronology. Tpq: AD 1024. The hoard was concealed probably soon after that date (in the 1030's? Cf. Fokt, forthcoming).

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: 1352 coins and pieces of coins (total weight of 823,74 g), of which 361 whole coins weighted 415,81 g and 1025 fragments of coins: 304,74 g (Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 220). The hoard contained various Western (207 younger cross deniers, 163 Otto-Adelheid pennies, 158 older cross deniers, 107 Bohemian deniers, 35 Bavarian and Swabian coins, 27 Danish half-bracteates, 14 Frankish deniers, 13 various Lorrain and Frisian coins, 1 English and 2 Italian issues) and Islamic (454 Sāmānid, 113 non-Sāmānid¹⁵²) issues and two fragments of milliaresia of Basil II (Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 220, Abb. 10). **3b.** Non-monetary components: 167 exemplars of non-fragmented and hacked jewellery (among them: 73 pieces of beads, 33 fragments of ear-rings, 7 pieces of neck-rings, 5 fragments of decorative receptacles, so called kaptorgas, 1 piece of lunar pendant, 1 part of an arm-ring) and 6 silver bars (comprehensive survey of non-monetary components of the hoard: Friedland, Hollstein 2008, 224–227, 228).

4. Essential references. Friedland, Hollstein 2008; Enke, Probst eds. 2011, 55, no. 2/13; Wojnicz 2015.¹⁵³

2. Grossgrabe, Ldkr. Bautzen

1. Context. An accidental find upon a field.

2. Chronology. Tpq: 995.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: One Otto-Adelheid penny. **3b.** Non-monetary components: Not registered.

4. Essential references. Kiersnowski 1964, 37 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 115–116 (with further ref.).

3. Šluknov, okres Děčín (ČR)

1. Context. The hoard was discovered by ground works accompanying a construction of a private house in Šluknov before 1883.

2. Chronology. Unspecified, most probably late tenth – early eleventh century (see Košnar 2010 and Fokt, forthcoming).

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: there were some unidentified coins in the assemblage, which were lost soon after the discovery. **3b.** Non-monetary components: Two silver arm-rings with free (loose) endings, each made of 3 wires twisted around a

¹⁵² The information on Islamic issues: courtesy of Lutz Ilisch and Dorota Malarczyk.

¹⁵³ The hoard is being still elaborated in the framework of a common project of GWZO in Leipzig and LfA Dresden, titled “Der Hortfund von Cortnitz als Spiegel weitreichender Fernbeziehungen in den sächsischen Markengebieten”, by dr Joanna Wojnicz; this study will certainly shed new light on the questions of composition and contexts of not only the Cortnitz find, but also other silver hoards from Upper Lusatia.

central stem, on both ends hammered together into a plate of rectangular shape and cross-section, ornamented with engravings. Inner diameter of the rings: 112-116 mm; mass of the finds: 210,7 and 214 g (see Lutovský 1986, 1).

4. Essential references. Voss 1883; Schranil 1925, 184–185; Lutovský 1986, 1–2; Košnar 2010 (monograph of the silver rings, further references there); Fokt, forthcoming.

4. Tautewalde

1. Context. The Otto-Adelheid penny was a part of a late medieval hoard.

2. Chronology. Tpq: 995.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: One Otto-Adelheid penny. **3b.** Non-monetary components: not registered.

4. Essential references. Kiersnowski 1964, 64; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 165.

5. Zawidów, pow. zgorzelecki

1. Context. Unknown; accidental find before 1914.

2. Chronology. Tpq: 1037.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: one denier of Břetislav I. **3b.** Non-monetary components: not registered.

4. Essential references. Haisig, Kiersnowski, Reyman 1966, 62, no. 57 (with further ref.); Prus 2002, 119; Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, 147 (with further ref.); Butent-Stefaniak, Ilisch, Malarczyk, Nowakiewicz 2013, 606, no. 92 (with further ref.).

7.1.3 The finds concealed in the periods 4-5 according to Ch. Kilger (2000), ca. 1060–1120

1. Auritz, Ldkr. Bautzen (DE)

1. Context. The hoard discovered before 1914, precise circumstances unknown.

2. Chronology. Probably 2nd half of the eleventh century, tpq: around 1060.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: Probably around 60 younger cross deniers (the number estimated from the length of the discovered roll of coins). **3b.** Non-monetary components: not registered.

4. Essential references. Kiersnowski 1964, 25 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 121–122 (with further ref.); Kilger 2000, 244, no. 3.01.

2. Görlitz, Ldkr. Görlitz (DE)

1. Context. The hoard, comprising of coins packed into a ceramic vessel, was unearthed in 1881 by delving the Pontekanal.

2. Chronology. Tpq: around 1100.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: around 1000 younger cross deniers (ca 800–1000 g of weight), among which 241 attributed. **3b.** Non-monetary components: not registered.

4. Essential references. Scheuner 1892; Kiersnowski 1964, 36–37 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 179 (with further ref.); Kilger 2000, 245 (no. 3.10).

3. Königshain, Ldkr. Görlitz (DE)¹⁵⁴

1. Context. Accidental find, made in the late 1870's.

2. Chronology. Tpq: after 1046, however, according to E. Faust (Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 172) and Ch. Kilger (2000, 133), the hoard was concealed probably in the 2nd half of the eleventh century.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: at least 23 coins, among which ca. 80% were the younger cross deniers of at least 14 variants of dies and ca. 20% were other deniers, among which there were probably at least six issues of Břetislav I of Bohemia, 1 coin minted in Cologne on behalf of the archbishops and some deniers of Stephen I and Andrew I of Hungary. **3b.** Non-monetary components: not registered.

4. Essential references. Kiersnowski 1964, 41 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 172, no. 109/16 (with further ref.); Kilger 2000, 246, no. 3.22; Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, 37–38, no. 16; Butent-Stefaniak, Ilisch, Malarczyk, Nowakiewicz 2013, 256, no. 14 (with further ref.).

4. Zoblitz, Ldkr. Görlitz (DE)

1. Context. Discovered accidentally by ploughing in 1800, ca 1000 steps from Zoblitz heading towards Reichenbach.

2. Chronology. 2nd half of the eleventh century, tpq 1060.

3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: Probably around 200 various cross deniers. **3b.** Non-monetary components: not registered.

4. Essential references. Kiersnowski 1964, 69 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 184–185 (with further ref.); Kilger 2000, 246, no. 3.23.

7.1.4 The finds concealed at the beginning of the period of domination of regional penny minting (ca. 1120–1156)

1. Kaschwitz, Ldkr. Bautzen

1. Context. The find was registered in the village, the coins being wrapped in linen cloth, which was probably hidden in a birch container which, at turn, was put into a ceramic pot.

¹⁵⁴ Some authors (Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009, 37–38, no. 16, fn. 51; Butent-Stefaniak, Ilisch, Malarczyk, Nowakiewicz 2013, 256, no. 14, fn. 54) claim erroneously that the find could have been found not in Königshain Kr. Görlitz but in Königshain Kr. Zittau (at present, Działoszyń in Poland). It was, however, surely discovered in the Prussian part of Upper Lusatia, i.e. in Königshain Kr. Görlitz (cf. Seger, Gandert 1931, 74; Kiersnowski 1964, 41, no. 89; Herrmann, Donat eds., 172).

2. Chronology. Tpq 1124 (the youngest issues are the ones of Henry of Groitzsch).
3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: 768 specimens of silver coins (among those, 18 pieces only): issues of Wiprecht of Groitzsch as advocate of Pegau, Henry of Groitzsch (types probably struck in Budyšin) and Bishop Herwig of Meissen (1108–1118).
4. Essential references. Haupt 1952; Leipner 1969, 30–31; Wilhelm 2004b; Koch ed. 2004, 126–128.

1. Purschwitz, Ldkr. Bautzen (DE)

1. Context. Accidental find in 1912.
2. Chronology. Around 1150, tpq 1144.
3. Composition. **3a.** Monetary components: unknown number of coins, preserved and documented are 4 bracteates of Conrad the Great of Wettin.
4. Essential references. Haupt 1951, 99, passim; Leipner 1969, 32 (with further ref.).

7.2 Catalogue of early medieval ringforts and mound cemeteries in Eastern Upper Lusatia

In the following appendix, information concerning the early medieval archeological sources from Eastern Upper Lusatia relevant from the viewpoint of this study was brought together, in order to present all the substantial data in one place instead of dispersing it in various parts of the book. The appendix consists of the narrative part (7.2.1), being a short sketch on the composition of the catalogue of sites, and the catalogue itself (7.2.2). The author hopes that such an elaboration provides the Reader with a uniformed database of sites, information on which is now dispersed among at least ten institutions in eight towns (Wrocław, Jelenia Góra, Löbau, Görlitz, Liberec, Bautzen, Zittau and Dresden), lying in three states (the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Poland and the Czech Republic). Such a dispersion of finds and documentation reflects the complex history of archaeological research in the region, which began in the era of the Enlightenment (on the older history of archeological research on Upper Lusatia, see e.g.: Lemper 1954; Richthofen 2009) and was carried on through a quarter of a millennium despite changing state borders, various institutional reforms and in the Polish part of the region – even a change of the whole population.

7.2.1 The composition of the catalogue

In the following catalogue, early medieval archaeological sites registered in the area of Eastern Upper Lusatia – comprehended as identical with the “Lusatian cluster of strongholds in Sudetes” according to Krzysztof Jaworski (2005) – were listed.

The vast part of the archival query conducted for the sake of composing the catalogue of sites presented below was carried through in three current and former bureaus for monuments’ preservation (DWUOZ Jelenia Góra, KM Görlitz and LfA Dresden). The scope of the research in particular archives was presented in the first section of the bibliography concerning the archival sources. Apart from the KM Görlitz and LfA Dresden, early medieval finds from Eastern Upper Lusatia were registered in a few further institutions. Two finds from the territory under study were found in the Archeological Museum (currently part of the City Museum) in Wrocław (Kozłice, site no. 2 and Leśna, site no. 1). A few boxes of finds from the early 1990’s were registered in the depot of Muzeum Karkonoskie in Jelenia Góra, but none of them was relevant for the study of the early medieval period. In the Lusatian Museum (Muzeum Łużyckie) in Zgorzelec materials and copies of documentation originating from excavations conducted in the years 2004–2007 in Tylice and Kozłice may be found. No separate query was conducted either in Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin or in Stadtmuseen in Zittau, as collections of Upper Lusatian archeological finds stored in those two museums are well known thanks to their elaborations by Cornelia Reich

(1996) and Günter Oettel (2011a). Neither items nor documents concerning early medieval archaeological discoveries or findings from Upper Lusatia were found in the Wrocław branch of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IAiE PAN).

The headline of each catalogue entry is always provided with short signatures of the country, in which it is situated (DE for Germany, PL for Poland and CZ for Czech Republic). The sites were assigned to particular towns and villages according to the state of affairs registered in the files of respective bureaus for monuments' preservation (LfA Dresden and DWUOZ Jelenia Góra); their current affiliation with a different administrative unit – expanded town (e.g. in case of Zittau-Pethau), or a community created by merging several localities (e.g. Schönau-Berzdorf) – was marked in brackets. The headline of every entry is also provided with the number of the site in a locality (if any number was given to it) and in case of sites lying in Poland: also number of the site on the respective sheet of the AZP survey map. In subsequent sections of catalogue entries, following information was gathered:

1. General description of the site, the scale and results of research conducted on it.
2. Approximate chronology of the site and its main premises.
3. Institutions, where the movable finds from the site are being stored (if possible, with inventory numbers).
4. Archival data, upon which the entry was based.
5. Substantial references to printed accounts, reports, papers and monographs concerning the early medieval settlement on respective archaeological site.

The areas of fortified settlements situated in the Polish part of the region were measured on the NTMs provided by the governmental platform geoportal.gov.pl (accessed: December 2014 – March 2015) by the crowns of the ramparts; for the sites lying in Germany and Czech Republic relevant data were obtained either from the platform geoportal.sachsen.de (also by the rampart crowns, accessed: December 2014 – March 2015) or from available publications.

In case of fortified settlements and mound cemeteries, in point five of each catalogue entry only such monographs and papers were listed, which must have been quoted for the sake of completeness of respective records. It means that the works that were already referenced in relevant elaborations provided with catalogues of sites (Müller 1927; Schultz 1939/40, Kaletynowie, Lodowski 1968; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985; Prus 2002; Fokt 2013b) were not referenced in the following catalogue unless they were of crucial importance for the knowledge of the respective site. Only a few exceptions were made from that rule for the sites, which had no separate lists of references in the catalogues mentioned above (Białogórze, sites 1–4, Niedów site 1 and Ręczyn site 1) and for the ringfort in Zatonie. For the sake of brevity of both catalogue records and bibliography, two sorts of published reports were not cited as separate articles, but only with reference to the volume of respective journal and the page. These were: the chronicles of new discoveries published in AB, OHZ, BGH and AFD

(with exception of Frenzel 1925c, published in an extraordinary issue of BGH) as well as yearly reports of various institutions concerned with protection of archeological heritage printed in NDV and SA (section “Muzea i ochrona zabytków”). All other texts, including short notes about particular sites published in the bulletins of KZA Wrocław and “Informator Archeologiczny” as well as reports printed in the section “Odkrycia i badania” of SA, were cited as articles.

7.2.2 List of early medieval ringforts and mound cemeteries in Eastern Upper Lusatia

1. ALTBERNSDORF (DE, currently part of Bernstadt auf dem Eigen), site no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on the western verge of a plateau (thus surrounded by rampart from E, N and S), ca 0,2 ha large (measured by rampart crown). Excavation took part only in 1907 (H. Schmidt), early medieval cultural layers were discovered.
2. tenth–twelfth cent. (area of the ringfort suggests tenth cent.)
3. KM Görlitz, EK 28:56, EK 8:61.
4. LfA Dresden, file *Altbernsdorf*.
5. Preusker 1841, 108, 113; Preusker 1843, 124; Schuster 1869, 122; Moschkau 1875, 51; Moschkau 1885, 95; “Sächsischer Postillion” 27 VIII 1907; Schmidt 1909, 223; Frenzel 1925c, 78; Frenzel 1932, 138; “Sachsens Vorzeit” 1937, 74; Jacob, Quietzsich 1982, 36–37; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 168 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 295.

2. BERZDORF auf dem Eigen (DE), site no. 2

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, bipartite, situated on a promontory, measuring 86,5 m (NW-SE) x 68.6 m (SW-NE) x 53.2 m (W-E); destroyed by coal mining. Sounding excavation by H. Schmidt (1914).
2. tenth–twelfth cent. (?)
3. Movable finds from the site unknown.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Berzdorf a. d. E.* b. LfA Dresden, file *Berzdorf a. d. E.*
5. Preusker 1841, 113; Moschkau 1875, 51; Moschkau 1885, 80, 86; “Mitteilungen des Nordböhmischen Exkursions-Clubs” 20:1897, 237; Schmidt 1909, 224; Schmidt 1926, 66; Frenzel 1932, 138; Coblenz 1963b, 111–112; Herrman, Donat eds. 1985, 168–169.

3. BIAŁOGÓRZE (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 1/78-10)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, bipartite: main part 0,08 ha large, surrounded by a well-preserved rampart, situated at the top of a promontory, of which some part was also cut off by an earthwork of which some relics, hardly visible, were discovered recently by P. Zubrzycki; this outer zone is ca. 0,2 ha large. The site researched only through sounding excavations (1833, 1959).
2. tenth – tenth/eleventh cent. (pottery)
3. a. KM Görlitz: EK 56:30 and without nos. (before 1945). b. not specified, probably the former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż (after 1945).

4. a. KM Görlitz: file *Lichtenberg*; typescript: Schultz 1941a. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: AZP; file *Białogórze, stan. 1*; typescript 7/ARCH.

5. Moschkau 1875, 166; Schultz 1939/1940, 54, 88, table VIII (with further ref.); Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 34–35 (with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 44 (with further ref.).

4. BIAŁOGÓRZE (PL), site no. 2 (AZP 2/78-10), in the older Polish reports registered as cemetery no. II

1. MOUND BURIAL GROUND. Around 4 ha large, counting 167 kurgans of 4–9 m diameter and up to 1.5 m height. There were: 3 burials excavated before 1945 (in 1929 and 1935) by O.F. Gandert, 3 in 1968 by J. Gąssowski, 5 in 1970 by T. Kaletyn and E. Kihl-Byczko, 5 in 1972 by T. Kaletyn and J. Knebel, 5 in 1973 by T. Kaletyn and 4 in the years 1977 and 1979 by H. Śledzik-Kamińska. Various constructions reflecting different rites of cremation burial were identified (upon and below the mounds, with stone pavings as well as stone and/or wooden constructions under the mounds) and numerous movable finds were excavated, including jewelry (beads of glass and agate, pendant made of amber) and items made of iron (1 axe, 3 spurs, at least 3 fragments of knives).

2. ninth – early eleventh cent. (pottery, axe from the mound no. 2/II/1968). The chronology might be refined to only the tenth – early eleventh cent., if the original dating of the abovementioned axe (presented by J. Gąssowski, criticised by H. Zoll-Adamikowa) proved to be correct, which seems, however, improbable (on the dating of the axe, see lately Kotowicz 2008, 372–373 and Kotowicz 2014, 17).¹⁵⁵

3. a. KM Görlitz (EK 37–1929 and 38–1929). b. Not known, probably the former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż.

4. a. WUOZ Jelenia Góra: file *Białogórze stan. 2*; typescripts: 7/ARCH, 9/ARCH, 12/ARCH, 18/ARCH.

5. AB 1930, 94; NDV 7:1931, 61; Frenzel 1932, 123, 145, 14 (note 27); Schultz 1937, 282; Knorr 1937, 165; Schultz 1939/1940, 58–59, 88 (with further ref.); AB 1942, 195; Kostrzewski 1960, 38; Kudła 1959–60, 143–144; Kaletyn 1967b; SA 10:1968, 299; Gąssowski 1968a; Gąssowski 1968b; SA 11:1969, 287; SA 12:1970, 260, 268; Kaletyn, Kihl-Byczko 1970, 145–146; Kaletyn 1972, 197–198, ryc. 1–4; SA 14:1972, 268–269, 279; Kaletyn, Knebel 1972; Kaletyn 1973b; SA 16:1974, 326, 329; SA 17:1975, 293, 308; Zoll-Adamikowa 1975, vol. 1, 57–60, 325–327, vol. 2, 304–305; Śledzik-Kamińska 1977; SA 20:1978, 258; Śledzik-Kamińska 1979a; SA 21:1979, 256–258; Śledzik-Kamińska 1979b; Lodowski 1980, 175; SA 22:1980, 192–193, 195; Śledzik-Kamińska 1981; SA 23:1981, 210–211; Lodowski 1986; Moździoch 1990a, 192; Prus 2002, 25 (with further ref.).

¹⁵⁵ Of crucial importance for the final chronological and typological attribution of the respective battleaxe will be the 3rd volume of the important book on early medieval axes, being prepared by Piotr N. Kotowicz, whom I would like to thank for the discussion on that issue.

5. BIAŁOGÓRZE (PL), site no. 3 (AZP 3/78-10)

1. MOUND BURIAL GROUND, situated in the vicinity of the site no. 2, less than 1 ha large. Around 30 kurgans registered (of 0.8–1.1 m in height and 5.9–6.5 m in diameter), of which 4 were excavated by J. Gąssowski in 1968.
2. ninth – tenth (tenth/eleventh?) cent. (pottery, horseshoe). Unlike the site no. 2, there are no strong premises to move the dating upwards to the eleventh cent.
3. a. Not known, probably the former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Lichtenberg*. b. WUOZ Jelenia Góra, file *Białogórze stan. 2*.
5. SA 10:1968, 299; Gąssowski 1968a; Gąssowski 1968b; SA 11:1969, 287; SA 12:1970, 260, 268; Zoll-Adamikowa 1975, vol. 1, 57–60, 325–327; SA 20:1978, 258; SA 21:1979, 256–258; SA 22:1980, 192–193, 195; Lodowski 1986; SA 24:1982, 154; SA 33/34:1991, 149. See also above, site no. 2.

6. BIAŁOGÓRZE (PL), site no. 4 (AZP 4/78-10)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT (?), alleged (no reliable indications of fortification), at present destroyed.
2. tenth – tenth/eleventh cent. (pottery).
3. KM Görlitz.
4. a. Archiwum: KM Görlitz: file *Lichenberg*; typescript: Schultz 1941a. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: AZP.
5. Schultz 1939/1940, 88; Schultz 1941; AB 1941, 236; Kaletyn 1965, 47; SA 9:1967, 235, 244; Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 35; SA 10:1968, 299; Prus 2002, 25, no. 2; Richthofen 2003, 298.

7. BRATKÓW (PL), site no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on a promontory, bipartite: *castrum minus* situated on the top of a promontory, ca. 0,24 ha large; the acreage of *castrum maius* equals approximately 1,68 ha. Researched many times (excavations: 1838, 1876, 1889, 1895, 1924, 1966; boring: 1975), but only on a small scale.
2. tenth – twelfth cent. (pottery).
3. a. Stadtmuseen Zittau (before 1945; previously in Ostritz). b. not specified, probably former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż (finds from the 1960's). c. MŁ Zgorzelec (the finds of the 21st cent.).
4. a. Stadtmuseen Zittau. b. LfA Dresden, file *Blumberg*. c. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra, file *Bratków*.
5. Pescheck 1838; Moschkau 1875, 19, 166; Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 8:1876, 152–154; Frenzel 1925a (with further ref.); Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 39–40 (with further ref.); SA 46:2010, 151; Oettel 2011a, 32–35 (no. 119–130), 113; Fokt 2013b, 44–46 (with further ref.).

8. EBERSBACH (DE), site no. 2

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, small (ca. 0.1 ha measuring by the rampart crown, ca. 0.03 ha of area inside the rampart), surrounded with rampart up to 6 m high, never excavated (only inspections and surface prospection conducted).
2. tenth – twelfth cent. (the acreage of the ringfort suggests tenth cent.).
3. KM Görlitz, EK 122–1931, 55–1932, 7–1939.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Ebersbach*. b. LfA Dresden, file *Ebersbach*.
5. Schuster 1869, 123; Moschkau 1875, 60; Moschkau 1885, 96; Behla 1888, 168–169; AB 1930, 93; OHZ 12:1931, 213; Frenzel 1932, 140; Schultz 1939/1940, 51, 70 (with further ref.); AB 1941, 236; Jacob, Quietzsch 1982, 37; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 169–170 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 296.

9. EBERSBACH (DE), site no. 3

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, small (ca. 0.07 ha measuring on the rampart crown, ca. 0.03 ha of area inside the rampart), situated on a promontory, never excavated (only inspections and surface prospection conducted). The object has been destroyed.
2. eleventh – twelfth cent. (?)
3. KM Görlitz, EK 134–1931.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Ebersbach*. b. LfA Dresden, file *Ebersbach*.
5. Preusker 1843, 124, 132; Schuster 1869, 123; Moschkau 1885, 96; Behla 1888, 168–169; Frenzel 1932, 140; Schultz 1939/1940, 70; Jacob, Quietzsch 1982, 37; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 170 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 296.

10. FRIEDERSDORF (DE), site no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, ca. 0.07 ha large, partially destroyed already bef. 1924. Numerous inspections; excavation only in 1926.
2. tenth – twelfth cent. (area of the ringfort suggests tenth – early eleventh cent.).
3. KM Görlitz: EK 1–1929, 40–1929, 41–1930, 20–1939, 6–1983, 50–1999.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Friedersdorf*. b. LfA Dresden, file *Friedersdorf*.
5. Moschkau 1875, 60; Schultz 1939/1940, 51–53, 71 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 170, tab. 109/9 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 296 (with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 46–47 (with further ref.).

11. GÖRLITZ (DE), no site no.

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated upon the height where Peterskirche and Vogthof are situated (in the early 14th century known as the Burgberg, ‘castle hill’). Largitude unknown; despite numerous excavations in and around the Vogtshof and Peterskirche, the only layers *in situ* which could have been accumulated during the existence of the fortifice are probably the ones containing two graves discovered under the Peterkirche in the 1980’s.
2. twelfth cent. (mentioning of the *castrum* in written sources and dating of the graves under the Peterskirche).

3. KM Görlitz: EK 71–1939, 16–1967, 17–1967, 15–1970, 12–1997.
4. KM Görlitz: cards of finds; typescript: Mitschke 1988, 4–5, 9.
5. Köhler 1838, 9; Preusker 1843, 171; Niederschlesische Zeitung 14 V 1881; Moschkau 1885, 97; Behla 1888, 169; Jecht 1894b, 234; Jecht 1926, 3, 6; Frenzel 1932, 141; Schultz 1939/1940, 53, 74–75; Schultz 1940 (with further ref.); AB 1941, 236; AFD 23:1979 (ed. 1980), 374; Rennebach 1982; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 178–179; Mitschke 1987; AFD 35:1993, 364; Mitschke 1994 (with further ref.); Lemper 1997, 114; Richthofen 2003, 296.

12. JAUERNICK (DE, currently part of Jauernick-Buschbach), site no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on the Kreuzberg Hill (347 m above sea level), bipartite, the main segment being ca. 0.251 ha large (measured by the rampart crown). Rampart at least partially preserved very well, up to 6–8 m high. Object never researched on larger scale; only minor sounding excavations took place in 1892 and 1929.
2. tenth – twelfth cent. (pottery). Generally, more finds may be connected with the middle-Slavic than with the late-Slavic period.
3. a. KM Görlitz EK 13–1929, 67–1929, 63–1930, 79–1932, 24–1938, 59–1938, 11–1939, 5–1944, 21–1944, 1–1952, 2–1953, 25–1954, 14–1957, 16–1957, 8–1970, 7–1974. b. Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Jauernick*. b. LfA Dresden, files *Jauernick*, *Altbernsdorf*.
5. Köhler 1838, 3, 10, fn. 8; Preusker 1841, 123; Moschkau 1875, 37; AB 1930, 94; NDV 7:1931, 62; Frenzel 1932, 143; Schultz 1939/1940, 53, 81 (with further ref.); AB 1941, 236; Coblenz 1963b, 116; Jacob, Quietzsch 1982, 38; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 171, table 109/11 (with further references); Reich 1996, 309, Abb. 64; Richthofen 2003, 297; Richthofen, Smolnik eds. 2010, 150–152.

13. JAUERNICK (DE, currently part of Jauernick-Buschbach), site no. 2

1. MOUND CEMETERY, situated on the Schwarzer Berg (393.4 m above sea level); the preserved mounds were localized on the N (9 mounds localized in the 1930's, among which 3 excavated in 1930–31 and 1 in 1952) and SW (more than 20 mounds localized in 1994) slopes of the hill.
2. ninth – eleventh cent. (pottery).
3. a. KM Görlitz, EK 67:30, 11:52.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Jauernick*. b. LfA Dresden, files *Jauernick*, *Altbernsdorf*.
5. Meiche 1908 (with erroneous identification of the site with *sepulchrum droschovicoph* known from the Upper Lusatian Border Charter); “Neuer Görlitzer Anzeiger” 6 X 1930; AB 1930, 94; NDV 7:1931, 61; Gandert 1932, 203; Frenzel 1932, 14–15, 143; Schultz 1939/1940, 81 (with further ref.); Coblenz 1954, 465; Friedland 1954, 35, 37; Coblenz 1963, 116; Jacob, Quietzsch 1982, 38; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 171 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 297.

14. KLEIN-BIESNITZ (DE, currently part of the town Görlitz), sites nos. 1-2

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, bipartite, situated on the top and slopes of the mount Landeskronen (419.5 m above sea level), the *castrum minus* being ca. 0.3 ha large and the *castrum maius*: around 1 ha large. Sounding excavations in 1870, 1889, 1894, 1909, 1928, 1937, 1969–1970, concentrated on the ramparts and their nearest vicinity. The object is most probably identifiable with the *urbs magna Businc*, mentioned in the chronicles of Thietmar of Merseburg *sub anno* 1015.
2. tenth – eleventh cent. (pottery). Generally, judging from the prevalence of late-Slavic pottery in the *castrum minus*, it should be the younger part of the whole fortified site.
3. a. KM Görlitz (see the details by Richthofen 2003). b. LfA Dresden, D 1567–1571/86, D 634–657/87.
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Klein/Gross Biesnitz*. b. LfA Dresden, file *Klein-Biesnitz*.
5. Moschkau 1875, 30, 61, 166; Schultz 1939/1940, 53–54, 65 (with further ref.); Herrmann, Donat 1985, 177–178 (with further ref.), Abb. 110/1, 110/2; Richthofen 2003 (monograph of the site, with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 47–49 (with further ref.).

15. KOŹLICE (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 1/79-09)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on a promontory, oval, ca. 0.21 ha large, occupying the top of a promontory on the verge of the Nysa valley. Excavated in 1966, 1968–1969, 2006–2007: i.a. full profiles of the SW and S segments of the rampart obtained (only the latter published with illustrations).
2. tenth – tenth/eleventh century (pottery).
3. a. KM Görlitz: EK 26–1929, EK 8–2002 (before 1945). b. MŁ Zgorzelec (2006–2007)
4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Köslitz*. b. not specified, probably DWUOZ Wrocław or DWUOZ Jelenia Góra (documentation of the excavations of the 1960's). c. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: file *Koźlice*; typescripts: 7/ARCH; 12/ARCH and reports from the excavations 2006-2007. d. MŁ Zgorzelec (copies of field documentation from 2006–2007).
5. Hirsche 1838, 135; Moschkau 1875, 61; Schultz 1939/1940, 53, 85 (with further ref.); Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 77–78 (with further ref.); Fokt 2008a (with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 49–50 (with further ref.).

16. LEŚNA (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 1/81-12)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, supposed. The whole complex is comprised of a *Rodungsborg* mentioned in 1247 (CDS 2–1, no. 143) and 1268 (CDLS 1, no. 58) surrounded by outer ramparts and ditches, which may be identified as relics of an early medieval stronghold, ca. 1 ha large. Sounding excavation conducted only in the highest part of the establishment (the castle of the 13th cent.); no early medieval relics documented.
2. tenth – twelfth century (pottery).
3. a. KM Görlitz: EK 47–1929, 15–1930, 18–1930, 20–1931, 67–1931, 31–1941 (before 1945). b. Archaeological Museum (Muzeum Archeologiczne; currently part of the City Museum) in Wrocław (finds from 1959).

4. a. KM Görlitz: files *Marklissa*, *Kreis Lauban*; typescripts Schultz 1941a; Schultz 1941b. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: file *Leśna*, st. 1; typescripts: 12/ARCH; 18/ARCH, 23/ARCH.

5. AB 1930, 95; NDV 7:1931, 62; AB 1931, 63; Frenzel 1932, 146; Gandert 1933, 11; Knebel 1962, 138; SA 9:1967, 235, 238; SA 10:1968, 292; Kaletynowie, Lodowski 1968, 85-86 (with further ref.); „Z Otchłani Wieków“ 38:1972, 258; Kaletyn 1973a; SA 31:1989, 132; Prus 2002, 69–70, no. 425 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 298.

17. LIEBSTEIN (DE), site no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on the NNW slope of the Limasberg Hill (296 m above sea level), almost utterly destroyed in the 19th and 20th cent. Investigated only through accidental find registration and sounding excavations (the last in 1935).

2. tenth–twelfth cent. (pottery).

3. KM Görlitz: EK 12–1929, 73–1929, 74–1929, 107–1930, 149–1931, 71–1933, 97–1935, 55–1936, 110–1936, 5–1939, 5–1960, 3–1968, 3–1985.

4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Liebstein*. b. LfA Dresden, file *Liebstein*.

5. Hirsche 1838, 132, 135; Köhler 1858; Moschkau 1875, 61; Moschkau 1885, 98, 113, 123; AB 1930, 94; Jecht 1930b, 29–30; Frenzel 1932, 145; AB 1936, 166; NDV 13:1937, 282; Schultz 1939/1940, 55, 90–91 (with further ref.); AB 1941, 236; AFD 23:1979 (ed. 1980), 380; Jacob, Quietzsch 1982, 38; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 173 (with further ref.), Abb. 109/17; AFD 35:1993, 375; Richthofen 2003, 298.

18. LOUČNÁ (CZ), registered as Andělka no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on a promontory of the Sedláková Hora (313 m above sea level); the area limited with ramparts measuring ca. 0,04 ha, with rampart preserved up to 4-6 m height. Sounding excavations conducted in the years 1905, 1923, regular excavation campaigns in the years 1982–1984. The excavations brought to light remains of the stone constructions of the earthen rampart; among the movable finds there were a glass bead and a spur.

2. tenth cent. (pottery and spur).

3. Severočeské Muzeum, Liberec.

4. Severočeské Muzeum, Liberec.

5. Stará 1988 (monograph of the excavation of the 1980's); Fokt 2013b, 51–52 (with further ref.).

19. MARIENTHAL (DE), site no. 4

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on the Castle Hill (Burgberg, ca. 305 m above sea level), above the town Ostritz, ca. 0,33 ha large (measured by the rampart crown) with rampart up to 1.15 m high (measured from the inside), never excavated.

2. tenth–17th cent. Decisive premises for dating are lacking; the form of the object allows for various interpretations of its chronology.

3. Two pieces of pottery from the site should be in the LfA Dresden.

4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Marienthal*. b. LfA Dresden, file *Marienthal*.

5. Schuster 1869, 124; Moschkau 1875, 70; Mund 1899, 272; Frenzel 1925d, 142; Müller 1927, 15; Frenzel 1932, 146; Doehler 1934, 160; Frenzel 1934, 179; Sprenger 1937, 4; Coblenz 1963, 111, fn. 12; Jacob, Quietzsich 1982, 39; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 173; Oettel 1995, 14; Richthofen 2003, 298.

20. NADRZECZE (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 1/83-08)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated in lowland, destroyed in 1944. It measured ca. 50 m in diameter and was surrounded by a ditch, partially preserved and until 1941 filled with water.

2. tenth – twelfth cent. (pottery); according to the form of the stronghold and its settlement context: most probably tenth – tenth/eleventh cent.

3. Not known.

4. a. LfA Dresden, file *Giessmannsdorf*. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: AZP; no site file. c. DWUOZ Wrocław (?): two files (nos. 1006/66 and 1039) were run for the site in WOAK Wrocław, which were apparently not handed over in the 1980's to the WKZ office in Jelenia Góra.

5. Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 101 (with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 51–52 (with further ref.).

21. NIEDÓW (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 1/81-09)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, bipartite. The main segment is ca. 0,24 ha large, the acreage of the borough equals ca. 0,25 ha. The stronghold was subject to sounding excavations (1891, 1959) and larger excavations campaigns (1969–1970 and 1984–1987) during which very interesting features were discovered, i.a. cistern (water reservoir), well, a few buildings, gate and wall in stone-and-clay construction (2nd phase of the rampart). Also rich assemblage of movable finds, among them elements of equipment of a horseman (i.a. spurs, metal fittings, pieces of horse bits, horse shoes and horseshoe-nails) and a warrior (axe), was discovered, some of which have close analogies in the Carolingian, Ottonian, Czech and early Magyar milieus.

2. Phase 1: ninth – 1st half of the tenth cent.; phase 2: late tenth – early eleventh cent. Dating based upon the evaluation of chronology of movable finds, both pottery and metal items. According to K. Jaworski (2005, 47), three settlement phases should be distinguished as there were three horizons of metal finds identified.

3. a. KM Görlitz: EK 66–1929, 71–1929, 72–1929, 5–1930, 12–1930, 23–1930, 42–1930, 47–1930, 74–1930, 75–1930, 25–1931, 52–1932, 80–1932, 66–1933, 28–1934, 88:1936, 19–1943, 74:1939, 17–1970, 20–1970 (before 1945). b. not specified, probably partially depot in Lubiąż, partially in private possession of the authoress of the excavations of 1980s. c. MŁ Zgorzelec.

4. a. KM Görlitz: file *Wolfsberg*. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: file *Niedów, stan. 1*; typescripts: 15/ARCH, 26/ARCH, 31/ARCH, 33/ARCH, 34/ARCH.

5. Moschkau 1875, 69; Frenzel 1928 (with further ref.); Schultz 1939/1940, 56, 107 (with further ref.); Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 103–104 (with further ref.); Pyrgała, Gajewski 1969; Pyrgała, Gajewski 1970; Jaworski 2005, 47–51 (with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 52–54 (with further ref.).

22. PETHAU (DE, currently part of Zittau), site no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on a promontory, destroyed by quarrying, never excavated.
2. tenth – eleventh cent. (pottery). The form of the object and some findings of early medieval pottery support its dating for the early Middle Ages; some of the non-existent fortifications could have originated, however, also in the early modern period (cf. Oettel 1995, 14).
3. LfA Dresden: D 953–957/88, 969–970/88.
4. LfA Dresden, file *Pethau*.
5. Cotta 1839, 121; Moschkau 1875, 70; Moschkau 1885, 100; Müller 1927, 26; BGH 8, 97; Frenzel 1932, 148; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 180 (with further ref.); Oettel 1995, 11, 14; Oettel 2011b, 6.

23. PIENSK (PL), no site no. (before 1945 site no. 1)

1. RINGFORT, situated on a promontory on the verge of the Nysa valley, destroyed yet in the mid-19th cent. (allegedly re-discovered after 1945, cf. Fokt 2008c, 384–5).
2. tenth – tenth/eleventh cent. (pottery).
3. KM Görlitz: HK 2242, possibly also EK 85:33.
4. KM Görlitz, file *Penzig*.
5. Hirsche 1838, 133, 135; Moschkau 1875, 70; AB 1931, 62; Knorr 1937, Taf. 21; Schultz 1939/1940, 55, 98–9 (with further ref.); Kudła 1959–60, 147–8; Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968 (with further ref.); Prus 2002, 90, no. 607 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 299; Richthofen ed. 2004, 93, fig. 17a-b; Fokt 2008 (with further ref.).

24. POSADA (PL), site no. 2 (AZP 9/82-08; before 1945: Marienthal, site 5)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, 0.29 ha large, occupying the top of the mount Ostroga (bef. 1945: Hoher Hahn), on the northern end of the Nysa Gorge. Rampart preserved up to 4 m high. The site was never excavated, only in 1975 boring was conducted there on behalf of WKZ Jelenia Góra.
2. tenth – twelfth cent. (pottery).
3. Not specified, probably in the former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż.
4. a. LfA Dresden, file *Marienthal* (site no. 5). b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: AZP; file *Posada*, *stan. 2*; typescripts: 12/ARCH, 27/ARCH.
5. Schuster 1869, 124; Moschkau 1875, 69; Mund 1899, 271–272; Frenzel 1925b; Frenzel 1932, 146; Frenzel 1934, 178; Sprenger 1937, 4; Coblenz 1963, 11, fn. 12; SA 9:1967, 235, 244; Kaletynowie, Lodowski 1968, 119–120 (with further ref.); SA 21:1979, 258; SA 22:1980, 195; Prus 2002, 94, no. 645 (with further ref.).

25. RENNERSDORF (DE), site no. 2

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT of hillfort type, situated upon the Eichler(berg) Hill, bipartite, ca. 0,025 ha large. Never excavated (only surface surveys from 1837 on).
2. tenth cent. (pottery), also late medieval finds known from the site.
3. KM Görlitz (finds from 1837 and 2011).
4. LfA Dresden, file *Oberrennersdorf*.
5. Preusker 1841, 108, 113; Schuster 1869, 122; Moschkau 1885, 80, 100; Schmidt 1909, 234, 236; Coblenz 1963, 117; Richthofen 2013.

26. RĘCZYN (PL), site no. 1 (until 1960's known as Niedów, site 2)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, partially (but not in 80%, as it was estimated in 1960's) destroyed by a quarry; remaining part ca. 0,38 ha large. The only invasive field researches conducted on the site were sounding excavations (1965–1966).
2. tenth – twelfth cent. (pottery), probably eleventh – twelfth cent. Available information on mobile finds does not allow the site to be dated precisely, although it seems more probable that it functioned in the eleventh – twelfth cent. rather than earlier (see Richthofen 2003, 299); this supposition is supported by the dating of the site no. 1 in Niedów, as it seems unreasonable that both strongholds would have functioned simultaneously.
3. Not specified, probably the former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż.
4. a. LfA Dresden, file *Nieda*. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: AZP; file *Ręczyn*.
5. Moschkau 1875, 37; BGH 4:1926, 281; OHZ 8:1927, 56; Frenzel 1928, 18; Frenzel 1932, 149, 71, Anm. 172; BGH 6:1928, 281; Sprenger 1937, 4; SA 9:1967, 235, 244; Kaletyn 1967; Kaletynowie, Lodowski 1968, 103–104 (with further ref.); SA 11:1969, 287; SA 20:1978, 259; SA 22:1980, 195; SA 23:1981, 212; SA 24:1982, 154; Richthofen 2003, 299.

27. SCHÖNAU auf dem EIGEN (DE, currently part of Schönau-Berzdorf), site no. 1

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, oval in shape, situated on the top of the Hutberg Hill (309 m above sea level), with a mound secondarily built upon it. Researched through numerous surface surveys and sounding excavations in 1843 and 1903.
2. tenth–twelfth cent. (pottery); the object was again used in the late Middle Ages, when the mound was probably built upon it.
3. a. KM Görlitz: EK 23–1959, 4–1967, 7–1970. b. Stadtmuseum Löbau. c. Stadtmuseen Zittau.
4. KM Görlitz, file *Schönau a. d. Eigen*.
5. Moschkau 1875, 50, 70; Schmidt 1909, 197, 202–213, 230–233; Schmidt 1926, 60, 62; Herrmann, Donat eds. 1985, 174–175, Abb. 109/25 (with further ref.); Richthofen 2003, 299; Fokt 2013b, 55–56 (with further ref.).

28. SULIKÓW (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 1/80-10)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, ca. 0,11 ha large, situated on the top of a promontory upon the Czerwona Woda stream. Only sounding excavations conducted (1936, 1959).

2. tenth – tenth/eleventh cent. (pottery).

3. a. KM Görlitz: HK 2267 (?), 2269, 2270, 2271, EK 56:29, 59:30, 99:30, 71-1930, 109-1938, 19-1942, 21:70. b. not specified, probably former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż.

4. KM Görlitz, files *Schönberg*, *Kreis Lauban*; typecript: Schultz 1941b. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: AZP; file *Sulików*.

5. Moschkau 1875, 70; Kaletynowie, Lodowski 1968 (with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 56–57 (with further ref.).

29. TYLICE (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 17/79-09)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on a promontory, almost completely destroyed by a quarry. The remaining, NW part has been to large extent explored during one excavation campaign (1967) and several sounding investigations (1959, 1978, 2004, 2005, 2007).

2. tenth/eleventh cent. (pottery; dendrochronological dating: most probably after 973).

3. a. KM Görlitz: EK 21–1929, 11–1930, 62–1930, 78–1930, 39–1931, 94–1931, 6–1940, 19–1970, 6–2002. b. Not specified, probably the former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż. c. MŁ Zgorzelec (finds from 2005–2007).

4. a. KM Görlitz, file *Thielitz*. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: file *Tylice*; typescripts: 12/ARCH, 27/ARCH and reports from excavations (1967, 2005, 2007). c. MŁ Zgorzelec: reports and copies of field documentation (2005, 2007).

5. Moschkau 1875, 70; Schultz 1939/1940, 56, 104 (with further ref.); Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 143–144 (with further ref.); Fokt, Zubrzycki, Zysnarska 2008 (with further ref.); SA 46:2010, 150–151; Fokt 2013b, 57–59 (with further ref.).

30. ZATONIE (PL), no site no.

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT (?), situated on a promontory, at present destroyed.

2. ninth – twelfth cent. (?) The form of the object supports its early medieval origin, but lack of dating movable finds does not allow this to be taken for granted.

3. Movable finds from the site are not known.

4. a. LfA Dresden, file *Seitendorf*.

5. Frenzel 1923, 67; Frenzel 1925c, 78; Frenzel 1932, 151; Kaletynowie, Lodowski 1968, 165; Prus 2002, 30.

31. ZAWIDÓW (PL), site no. 1 (AZP 1/81-10)

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, situated on a promontory over the valley of Koci Potok stream, ca. 0,17 ha large; in the northernmost part provided with a mound and separated from the remaining highland by a ditch. The object is most probably identical with the *mons in Zagozd qui Syden vocatur*, mentioned in 1188 (CDS 2–1, no. 61). The site was often visited by scholars and regionalists; sounding excavations conducted in 1922 by L. Feyerabend (section of the rampart) and 1970 by E. Kihl-Byczko (3 trenches: inside the rampart, in the ditch and probably upon the mound).

2. tenth – 13th cent. Probably 2 phases: early mediaeval stronghold from ca. tenth century and episcopal castle (mentioned in 1188) built upon it.
3. a. KM Görlitz EK 70:29, 55:30, 21:32, 91:32, 10–1943, 11–1943, 12–1943, 13–1943. b. Not specified, probably the former depot of WOAK Wrocław in Lubiąż (the finds from 1970).
4. a. KM Görlitz: file *Seidenberg*; typescript: Schultz 1941b. b. DWUOZ Jelenia Góra: file *Zawidów*; typescript 7/ARCH.
5. Moschkau 1875, 70; Kaletyn, Młynarska-Kaletyn, Lodowski 1968, 165–166 (with further ref.); Prus 2002, 119 (with further ref.); Fokt 2013b, 59–60 (with further ref.).

32. ZITTAU (DE), site no. 6

1. FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT, so called Castle Hill (Burgberg), situated W from the Old Town of Zittau near a pond called Castle Pond (Burgteich), once surrounded by a half-mond, ca. 100 m long and up to 8 m high rampart. Destroyed, never excavated (only minor inspections took place there).
2. tenth–twelfth cent. (?) Historical context of the site suggests that it could have been related to some activities of the lords of Zittau in the early 13th cent., but the form and largeness of the object do not allow excluding its earlier origin.
3. No movable finds known.
4. LfA Dresden, file *Zittau*.
5. Pescheck 1837, 101, 650; Preusker 1841, 108, 128, 139; Schuster 1869, 123; Moschkau 1875, 50, 71; Zittauer Nachrichten 1879, nos. 48–49; Moschkau 1881; Zittauer Nachrichten 1883, no. 187; Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 16:1884, 193–194; Morawek 1893; Frenzel 1925c, 80; Müller 1927, 31; Seeliger 1932; Prochno 1936; Jacob, Quietzsich 1982, 78.

7.3 The extension of the Jauernick proto-parish reflected in the tithe registers of the 16th century (after J. Huth and W. Haupt)

In the table below, data from the works of Joachim Huth (1962) and Walter Haupt (n.d.c) – based upon their research on the tithe registers of the Jauernick Roman-Catholic parish – were extracted in order to illustrate the extension of the Jauernick proto-parish and the scale of tithe owed from particular localities. Numbers of subjects obliged to payment and sorts of their realties were quoted after W. Haupt (n.d.c) and quota of tithe from particular localities were taken from the work of J. Huth (1962, 35). It may be also added that apart from the grain, tithe payers from Jauernick owed the church of St. Wenceslaus two chickens yearly and the peasants from Niecha: 12 *grossi* twice a year.

Table 7.1: The tithe of the parish of the St Wenceslaus Church in Jauernick (according to the works of Joachim Huth and Walter Haupt).

Location of the realties obliged to pay tithe to Jauernick church (present place names in brackets)	Number of tithe payers (1516)	Sorts of realties obliged to pay tithe	Amount of tithe	
			Rye (Scheffel, Viertel, kleine Metzen)	Oats (Scheffel, Viertel, kleine Metzen)
Ebersbach	14	peasant feoffs, church rectorate	17, 2, 3	17, 2, 3
Görlitz	8	manorial estates	15, -, 2	15, -, 2
Grossbiesnitz (Görlitz-Biesnitz)	5	manor, Richter's feoff, peasant feoffs	14, -, -	14, -, -
Jauernick (Jauernick-Buschbach)	16	peasant feoffs	43, 3, -	43, 3, -
Kleinbiesnitz (Görlitz-Biesnitz)	1	manor	2, 2, -	2, 2, -
Kunnersdorf	1	peasant feoff	1, -, -	-, 2, -
Kunnerwitz (Görlitz-Kunnerwitz)	7	peasant feoffs	9, 2, -	9, 2, -
Leschwitz (Görlitz-Weinhübel)	?	peasant feoffs	2, 1, 3	2, 1, 3
Niecha (Jauernick-Buschbach)	6	manor, 4 peasant feoffs, 1 garden	9, -, -	9, -, -
Pfaffendorf	8	peasant feoffs	10, 2, -	10, 2, -
Rauschwalde (Görlitz-Rauschwalde)	1	manor	3, 2, -	3, 2, -
Schlauroth (Görlitz-Schlauroth)	8	Richter's feoff, peasant feoffs	10, -, 2	10, -, 2
Schönau auf dem Eigen (Schönau-Berzdorf)	48	peasant feoffs	39, 2, 1	39, 2, 1
Tauchritz	12	peasant feoffs	9, -, 2	9, -, 2

7.4 A summary of rents in pepper and other spices from places located in Eastern Upper Lusatia

The following appendix has been based on the paper of Joachim Huth (1971), who managed to create quite extensive lists of plots – from the town Görlitz and the countryside surrounding it – owners of which were obliged to pay rent in pepper and/or other spices (Huth 1971, table 3). In the table below the list of localities and plots obliged to pay rent in pepper composed by Huth has been repeated with the territorial limitations to Eastern Upper Lusatia, as well as corrected and supplemented with some additional data. Separate, extensive archival queries were not conducted for its collection, as such research has already been carried out by Joachim Huth and Manfred Kobuch (Huth 1971, table 3; Kobuch 1996, 366–367) and before them: by Richard Jecht, who composed a separate fiche containing mentions on pepper rents in his manuscript catalogue in the Ratsarchiv Görlitz (ZK Jecht). I assumed, therefore, that a full repetition of their work would not turn up any new discoveries.

However, to be sure about this matter, some dubious details were checked in respective manuscripts and in other published and unpublished sources. I also reached out to the bequest of Walter Haupt stored at the Staatshauptarchiv in Dresden. It contains valuable materials that give a broad insight into the reserves of the archives that have preserved sources related to the problems of interest, in the form of copies of *urbaria* and acts of a similar nature made by Haupt in order to prepare his – never published – source edition titled *Oberlausitzer Zinsurbare des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Haupt n.d.a-c). It includes typescript copies of primary sources from the collections of the archives, libraries and museums of Upper Lusatia as well as from the Staatshauptarchiv in Dresden and the Státní Ústřední Archiv in Prague.¹⁵⁶ As anticipated, an overview of the materials left by Walter Haupt has not led to any significant increase in the number of properties located in the eastern part of Upper Lusatia from which rents were paid in pepper or other spices. Only one, quite important, place came onto the list of such sites – I speak here of the meadow in Nikrisch, belonging to the local *Richter*¹⁵⁷. As a rule, the *urbaria* gathered by Walter Haupt allow one to confirm the data cited by Huth – especially in situations where the former got through to sources that were not cited by the latter (Friedersdorf) – and, in case of Działoszyn, also supplement them. Thanks to the *urbarium* of the Marienthal Monastery from the 16th century, copied by Haupt, it was namely possible to state that the amount of 2.5 pounds of spices owed to the local dominion from the inn according to the *urbarium* which burnt down in 1852, quoted by Oswald Speerhaken, was set no

¹⁵⁶ Another version of this unpublished edition is available in the RAG; the manuscripts in Dresden, however, contain some extra materials.

¹⁵⁷ The meadow was called either *Pfeffer-Stücke* (see RAG, Varia 229, s.a. 1555), or *Richters Wiese* (see RAG, Varia 229, s.a. 1556).

earlier than the late 16th century¹⁵⁸, and the original rent – of medieval origin – was limited to only 1 pound of pepper.

In three cases – of Gersdorf, Moys (at present: Zgorzelec-Ujazd) and Ludwigsdorf – citations of sources provided by Huth proved wrong. In case of Gersdorf, any rents on pepper were not mentioned in the publication, referred to in Joachim Huth's table (Knothe 1879, 199). Also the Richard Jecht's work (Jecht 1941, 82), which allegedly attested to the existence of some pepper rent in Moys belonging to the town council of Görlitz, brought no evidence for existence of such a payment. Moreover, a pepper rent belonging to the town council was also not mentioned in the registers of the incomes of Görlitz from this village from the 15th century (Jecht 1941, 71–72; CDLS 3, 658–659). In case of Ludwigsdorf, no mention of pepper rent was found in the manuscript cited by Huth in none of the three registers of rent from that village that were found there.¹⁵⁹ Despite all the facts presented above, Gersdorf and Moys should, however, remain in the list of villages from which pepper rents are known, only a different source should be quoted in these cases, as such form of payment was attested there in the oldest book of records of the town Görlitz.¹⁶⁰

One correction introduced by Kobuch on the list of Huth was rejected, namely the idea that a half-pound of pepper paid in 1415 to the town council of Görlitz by a certain Nitzsche Margrave from Łagów should be treated separately from a similar amount of this spice due from Niclas Gruner of Jędrzychowice. M. Kobuch's interpretation seems by all appearances to respond to the contents of the cited source. The payer from Łagów was mentioned there as the only resident of this village owing some payment to the Görlitz council – it is, therefore, possible that he was listed among the inhabitants of the neighboring village Jędrzychowice, although he did not live there (see here also: Jecht 1941, 72, fn. 2). The problem in this is that no rent was owed from Łagów to the city of Görlitz just two years earlier, while again from Jędrzychowice – not half (as in 1415) but an entire pound of pepper (CDLS 3, 659), paid by the abovementioned two peasants.¹⁶¹ Therefore, it is quite likely that the obligation of the Łagów resident arose

¹⁵⁸ That it was only in a later period that the original amount of the rent was increased by an additional portion of 1.5 pounds of spices is supported by the fact that, besides cinnamon, it included allspice, which comes from the New World.

¹⁵⁹ RAG, *Steuerregister 1528-1543*, fol. 254r-255r, 445r-447r, 591v-594r.

¹⁶⁰ See APWr., RB, p. 32a: *Iz hat Otto, ern Apetz Muntzmeisters son, vor coyfet Fritzken Etzele genant zcwe marg geldes, gelegen in deme dorfe zcu Moyges, zcu eime rechten erbe, und sol im da von gebben des iares ein pfunth pfefferes und Sol mer Ledig Sin alles dienstes und sine kinder sullen ez behalden zcu deme selben rechte*; and APWr., RB, p. 41a: *Jensh des spitales mester hat ge Coyft vunft halbe marg jereges Cinses wyder Hannus von Gerhartsdorf, gelegen in deme selben dorfe, zcu sime libe und siner husvrowen; nach irme tode gehoret der selbe Cins in daz spital. Daz selbe guth sal man des jares vor dinen mit eynen pfunt pfeffers*.

¹⁶¹ RAG, *Ratsrechnungen*, vol. 4: 1413-1419, fol. 3r, under the title *In Heinrichsdorf: Gruner et Nycz Margrefe de Lutyfotshayn 1 phunt pheffer uf Michaelis, datur*.

between 1413–1415 as a result of his acquisition of part of the garden in Jędrzychowice (we are speaking of neighboring villages), which leads to one accepting Huth's interpretation as more probable.

Also some small addenda were made to the list of pepper rents prepared by Huth and repeated by Kobuch due to some mentions of pepper rents in two manuscripts: an urbarium of the village Pieńsk (Penzig) from 1539 (where a previously unknown notice attesting to the pepper rent was found) and the oldest book of records of Görlitz. In the latter, some plot situated outside the Reichenbacher Tor in Görlitz, for which payment of 1 pound of pepper was attested.¹⁶² It is possible that some rest of that obligation could be the pepper rents registered around Hoppenborn and Kellenborn in late 15th century, or at least one of them, as both those wells were often placed in the sources "by the Reichenbacher Tor" (see Jecht 1927/1934, 516, 518–519). Nevertheless, the mention of the abovementioned payment in the Red Book is so spatially unprecise that it must be registered separately. Another addition based upon the Red Book concern the payments in pepper from realties situated in the suburban settlement of Görlitz, lying upon the Lunitz Stream.¹⁶³ The amount of 3½ pounds of pepper registered in 1308 in the Red Book probably – but not without any doubt – reflects the previous stage of development of the obligation registered in the 15th century as due from 3–4 gardens, of which each was obliged to pay ¾ pound of pepper yearly (see CDLS 3, 659; Jecht 1941, 78).

The list of properties located in Eastern Upper Lusatia from which pepper rents were paid can also include one other – the meadow on the Witka River in the village of Wilka. This property was mentioned in two documents issued on 29 March 1459 (Doehler 1905, 81) and on 2 December 1479 (Doehler 1905, 94),¹⁶⁴ respectively, one of which placed this meadow in the village Wilka and the second in Radzimów. As the two documents agree on the intended use of this plot (meadow), its name (Grosse Wiese) and its ownership (locally in the hands of the Gersdorf family on Tauchritz) as well as the types of spices (pepper and saffron) to be paid as rent, one must agree with the publisher of the registers of these documents, Richard Doehler (1905, 94, fn. 8)¹⁶⁵ in considering both to be dealing with the same property.

¹⁶² APWr., RB, p. 26a: *Iz hat ouch gecoyfet der selbe Gotfrid [scil. von Messewitz – KF] gegen ern Apetzke Muntzmeister einen garthen vor deme thore, da man geht zcu Richenbach, gelegen, und cinset davon ein pfunt pfefferes.*

¹⁶³ Cf. APWr., RB, p. 11a: *Juta hern Henninges Roten husvrowe hat gegeben Elsebethen irre swester kint, alle ire gerade und daz dar zcu gehoret. Sie ouch und her Henning hant gegeben Conrado Sconts iren hof halb und dar zcu virdehalb phunt pfefferes zcu cinse, der ist gelegen an hofen an der Lunze.*

¹⁶⁴ Respective fragment of the source: *vnnde dorbey sal bleyben dy grosse wesse ane der Wyttagge gelegen, mit den pheffern- vnnde safferan- czynssen.*

¹⁶⁵ The location of this meadow on the Witka River justifies its ties to the village Wilka.

Table 7.2: Basic sources of information on the pepper rents in Eastern Upper Lusatia.

	Place (town/village, street/parcel) obliged to payment	Dating of the information	Sources of information (editions, archival sources)	Substantial literature
1	Czerwona Woda/ Rothwasser	1587	RAG, <i>Michaeliszins auf der Heide 1587</i> (<i>non vidi</i> , quoted after: Haupt, n.d.b, no. XXXII and Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3)	Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3; Kobuch 1996, 367, fn. 485
2	Dłużyna/ Langenau	1583	RAG, <i>Urbarregister über Langenau und Schützenhain 1583</i> (part of: RAG, <i>Originalurkunden</i> , No. 855/682), pp. 2, 14, 19, 25	Haupt n.d.b, no. XXXI; Ender 1869, 119, 124, 131; Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3; Kobuch 1996, 367, fn. 485
3	Działoszyn/ Königshain	16 th cent.	StHA Dresden, Ms. no. 8635: <i>Czinsregister des Closters Marienthal über die Dörfer und Gutter im Sittichen Weichbilde</i> (<i>non vidi</i> , quoted after: Haupt n.d.a)	Haupt n.d.a
		Bef. 1852	Old <i>urbarium</i> , burnt down in 1852 (information after: Speerhaken 1858, 40, fn. 1)	Speerhaken 1858, 40; Boetticher 1920, 35.
4	Friedersdorf	1528	RAG, <i>Hospitalrechnung 1528 sqq</i> (<i>non vidi</i> , quoted after Haupt, n.d.b, no. XXVII)	Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3
		1548-1583	RAG, <i>Hospitalrechnung 1548-1583</i> (<i>non vidi</i> , quoted after Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3)	
5	Gersdorf	1327	APWr., RB, p. 41a	-
6	Gozdanin/ Lauterbach	1393	RAG, <i>Varia</i> 225, 5v-6r	Boetticher 1920, 35; Jecht 1941, 82
		15 th cent.	RAG, <i>Varia</i> 59, fol. 18r	
7	Görlitz: Hainwald, Neissestrasse	1412	Jecht 1894a, 122	Sieg 1930, 52, fn. 4; Jecht 1941, 82; Huth 1971, 213 (Tab. 3)
		1413	RAG, <i>Ratsrechnungen</i> , vol. 4, fol. 3r	
		15 th cent.	RAG, <i>Varia</i> 59, fol. 23v	
8	Görlitz, Hoppenborn	1495	RAG, <i>Liber resignationum</i> 1488-1505, fol. 133v	Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3; Kobuch 1996, 366
9	Görlitz, Kellenborn	1495	RAG, <i>Liber resignationum</i> 1488-1505, fol. 133v	Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3; Kobuch 1996, 366

	Place (town/village, street/parcel) obliged to payment	Dating of the information	Sources of information (editions, archival sources)	Substantial literature
10	Görlitz, Lunitz	1308 1413 1415	APWr., RB, p. 11a CDLS 3, 659 Jecht 1941, 78	Jecht 1927/1934, 648; Jecht 1941, 82; Huth 1971, 213 (Tab. 3); Kobuch 1996, 366
11	Görlitz, Reichenbacher Suburb	1310	APWr., RB, p. 26a	-
12	Grossbiesnitz	15 th cent.	RAG, <i>Varia</i> 59, fol. 17v	Jecht 1941, 82; Huth 1971, 213 (Tab. 3)
13	Jędrzychowice/Hennersdorf	1413 1415	CDLS 3, 659 Jecht 1941, 72	Boetticher 1920, 36; Huth 1971, 213, Tab. 3; Kobuch 1996, 366, 367
14	Moys (at present: Zgorzelec-Ujazd)	Betw. 1311-1325	APWr., RB, p. 32a	-
15	Nikrisch (at present: Görlitz-Hagenwerder)	1555	RAG, <i>Varia</i> 229: <i>Zins- und Wirtschaftsbuch des Erbherrn zu Nikrisch 1555-1615</i> , fol. 17v	-
16	Pieńsk/Penzig	1539 1587	RAG, <i>Lose Akten</i> : Penzig, No. 2170: <i>Zinslisten 1539. Restanten und Steuerliste 1564–1754</i> , p. 1 RAG, <i>Michaeliszins auf der Heide 1587</i> (<i>non vidi</i> , quoted after: Haupt, n.d.b, no. XXXII and Huth 1971, 214, Tab. 3)	Huth 1971, 214 (Tab. 3)
17	Trójca/Troitschendorf	1449	Boetticher 1920, 19	Huth 1971, 213, Tab. 3
18	Wilka/Wilke	1459, 1479	Doehler 1905, 81, 94	-

Table 7.3: The character of the realties obliged to payments in pepper and their amounts.

	Location of the realties obliged to payment		Dating of the information	Sort of realty obliged to payment	Amount and means of payment
	Town / village / street	Territory of the 13 th cent.			
1	Czerwona Woda/ Rothwasser	Pieńsk/Penzig domain	1587	One of peasant feoffs	1 £ of pepper
2	Dłużyna/ Langenau	Pieńsk/Penzig domain	1583	A few peasant feoffs	payment in money: 20 gr.
3	Działoszyn/ Königshain	Ostritz domain	16 th cent. Bef. 1852	The inn (appurtenance of the Richter's feoff)	1 £ of pepper 1 £ of pepper and 1.5 £ of other spice
4	Friedersdorf	Görlitz – royal territory	1528 1548-1583	Richter's feoff	1 £ of pepper
5	Gersdorf	Görlitz – royal territory	1327	Probably Richter's feoff	1 £ of pepper
6	Gozdanin/ Lauterbach	Görlitz – royal territory	1393 15 th cent.	Richter's feoff	1 £ of pepper or payment in money (8 gr.)
7	Görlitz: Hainwald, Neissestrasse	Görlitz – town	1412 1413 15 th cent.	Three town houses	3 £ of pepper
8	Görlitz, Hoppenborn	Görlitz – town	1495	Manorial estate	½ £ of pepper
9	Görlitz, Kellenborn	Görlitz – town	1495	Manorial estate	¼ £ of pepper
10	Görlitz, Lunitz	Görlitz – town	1308 1413 1415	Unspecified no. of households Three gardens (¾ £ each) Four gardens (¾ £ each)	3½ £ of pepper 3 £ of pepper 3 £ of pepper
11	Görlitz, Reichenbacher suburb	Görlitz – town	1310	A garden	1 £ of pepper
12	Grossbiesnitz	Landeskrone domain	15 th cent.	One of peasant feoffs	1 £ of pepper

	Location of the realties obliged to payment		Dating of the information	Sort of realty obliged to payment	Amount and means of payment
	Town / village / street	Territory of the 13 th cent.			
13	Jędrzychowice/ Hennersdorf	Görlitz – royal territory	1413 1415	A garden	1 £ of pepper
14	Moys (at present: Zgorzelec-Ujazd)	Görlitz – royal territory	Betw. 1311- ? 1325		1 £ of pepper
15	Nikrisch (at present: Görlitz- Hagenwerder)	Episcopal domain	1555	Richter's meadow	1 £ of pepper
16	Pieńsk/ Penzig	Pieńsk/Penzig domain	1539, 1587	One of peasant feoffs	1 £ of pepper, interchangeable to money: 30 or 32 gr.
17	Trójca/ Troitschendorf	Görlitz – royal territory	1449	Richter's feoff	1 £ of pepper
18	Wilka/ Wilke	Episcopal domain	1459, 1479	Dominial meadow	Pepper and saffron, quantity not specified

List of Abbreviations

A. Journals

AB. Altschlesische Blätter: Mitteilungen des Landesamtes für Vorgeschichte und des Schlesischen Altertumsvereins, Breslau 1926–1944.

AFD. Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsische Bodendenkmalpflege, Dresden 1951–.

BGH. Bautzener Geschichtshefte, Bautzen 1915–1940.

NDV. Nachrichtenblatt für deutsche Vorzeit, Leipzig 1925–1943.

NLM. Neues Lausitzisches Magazin, Görlitz 1822–1941, 1998–.

OHZ. Oberlausitzer Heimatzeitung, Reichenau 1919–1943.

SA. Silesia Antiqua, Wrocław 1959–.

B. Institutions

APWr. Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (Wrocław).

BUWr. Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego (Wrocław).

DWUOZ Jelenia Góra. Dolnośląski Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków we Wrocławiu, local delegation in Jelenia Góra (Jelenia Góra).

DWUOZ Wrocław. Dolnośląski Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków we Wrocławiu (Wrocław).

KM Görlitz. Kulturhistorisches Museum Görlitz (Görlitz).

LfA Dresden. Landesamt für Archäologie mit Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte (Dresden).

MŁ Zgorzelec. Muzeum Łużyckie (Zgorzelec).

WOAK Wrocław. Wojewódzki Ośrodek Archeologiczno-Konserwatorski (Wrocław; current successor institution: DWUOZ Wrocław).

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2. Scholarly diaries of Ludwig Feyerabend.
3. Inventory cards (Fundkarten) of the sites included in the App. 1.
4. Topographic maps with marked archeological sites.
5. *Inedita* (details: see below, in the section II: *inedita*).

LfA Dresden (Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen, Dresden)

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Summaries

Streszczenie

Zakres terytorialny i chronologiczny opracowania

Prezentowane studium jest próbą ukazania historii politycznej i ustrojowej niewielkiego regionu na terenie Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej we wczesnym i pełnym średniowieczu. Regionem stanowiącym szczególny przedmiot zainteresowania książki są Górne Łużyce (łac. *Lusatia Superior*, niem. *Oberlausitz*). Dolną cezurę chronologiczną opracowania stanowi okres 2. poł. IX – 1. poł. X w., do którego odnieść należy najstarsze pisane i materialne źródła dokumentujące życie Słowian zamieszkających w górnym dorzeczu Sprewy i Nysy Łużyckiej. Jako górną granicę chronologiczną przyjęto rok 1156, stanowiący w dziejach Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc cezurę ustrojową. Ramy organizacyjne zarządu tego regionu stanowiła od 1156 r. organizacja burggrafschaftów (kasztelańska), a następnie: budziszyńskie wójtostwo krajowe. Przedmiotem niniejszego studium jest natomiast okres przed powołaniem na Górnych Łużycach urzędów kasztelana i wójta krajowego, czyli najpierw okres ustrojów przedpaństwowych („plemiennych”), a następnie systemów zarządu, które nazwać można umownie – nawiązując do dorobku mediewistyki polskiej i czeskiej – organizacją grodową.

Podstawy źródłowe i metodyka pracy

Podstawę źródłową studium stanowią źródła pisane i materialne (archeologiczne). Zasiób uwzględnionych źródeł pisanych pochodzących z okresu omawianego w pracy obejmuje źródła narracyjne (kroniki i roczniki) oraz dokumentowe. Oświetlają one omawiany w niniejszym opracowaniu odcinek czasu w sposób nierównomierny; w związku z tym, rekonstrukcję dziejów Górnych Łużyc w tym okresie trzeba było wzbogacić retrogresywnym uwzględnieniem przesłanek pochodzących ze źródeł późniejszych, m. in. tzw. Górnolużyckiego Dokumentu Granicznego z 1241 r. (CDB 4/1, nr 4).

Obraz, jaki można uzyskać w drodze analizy źródeł pisanych, rozbudowano poprzez uwzględnienie materiałów archeologicznych. Oparto się przy tym na założeniu, że mimo niedostatecznego stanu badań archeologicznych nie można czekać z uwzględnieniem tej kategorii źródeł na wyraźną poprawę stanu badań, co z perspektywy badań historycznych – wymagających od archeologii precyzyjnych datowań i możliwie jednoznacznych wniosków – może nastąpić za kilkadziesiąt lat bądź nie nastąpić wcale. Uwzględnienie źródeł archeologicznych umożliwiło próbę zarysowania obrazu organizacji władzy i zarządu dla okresu najsłabiej oświetlonego przez źródła pisane, czyli tzw. okresu plemiennego.

Zakres tematyczny książki

Głównymi problemami omawianymi w prezentowanym studium są kwestie organizacji władzy i zarządu na poziomie regionu (Milsko) i subregionu (Wschodnie Górne Łużyce). Chcąc poddać te problemy należytej analizie, trzeba było gruntownie zająć się dziejami politycznymi całego Milska w omawianym okresie, a w niektórych partiach po prostu napisać je na nowo. Przedsięwzięcie to, mimo braku nieznanych wcześniej źródeł narracyjnych czy dokumentowych, było możliwe dzięki uwzględnieniu danych archeologicznych, kontekstu geopolitycznego wydarzeń, wnioskowaniu retrospektywnemu oraz poddaniu pod dyskusję pewnych aksjomatów, dotąd dość automatycznie przyjmowanych w badaniach nad dziejami Górnych Łużyc (np. apriorycznego założenia, że Milsko w latach 1031–1081 stanowiło integralną część Marchii Miśnieńskiej). Opierano się przy tym na metodyce wypracowanej przez polskich historyków wczesnego średniowiecza, a także na pewnych tezach przedstawionych przez badaczy niemieckich (m.in. R. Kötzschke, H. Ludat, J. Huth, W. Schlesinger), które nie znalazły dotąd należytego odzwierciedlenia w istniejących wizjach wczesnych dziejów Górnych Łużyc. Dzięki zaprezentowanemu podejściu udało się m.in. sprecyzować datowanie podboju Biezuńczan przez Milczan (na lata 936–950), wskazać nieznaną dotąd okres odrębności zarządczej Milska od Miśni jako osobnego *comitatus* (1031–1034), wprowadzić do dziejów Górnych Łużyc w XI w. okres rządów grafa Dediego II z Wettynu (1046–1069), zanegować koncepcję Richarda Jechta (1930) dotyczącą podziału Górnych Łużyc w początku lat 80. XI w. oraz obronić podaną w *Annales Pegavienses* datę restytucji Milska Wiprechtowi II z Groitzsch (1117).

Drugą po problemach z zakresu historii politycznej grupę zagadnień omawianych w prezentowanej pracy stanowią kwestie historyczno-prawne. Przedmiotem analizy w kolejnych rozdziałach opracowania stało się zagadnienie statusu prawnego całego Milska i Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc w ramach większych struktur politycznych, w skład których ziemie te wchodziły, przede wszystkim zachodniego Cesarstwa i jego marchii. Ze względu na dostępne podstawy źródłowe, wnioskowanie w tej materii miało często charakter poszlakowy, opierając się na retrospekcji od skutków poszczególnych akcji prawnych do ich formalnej kwalifikacji. Choć metoda ta wydaje się ryzykowna, jednak po wcześniejszym opracowaniu głównych zagadnień z historii politycznej – nierozłącznie związanych z kwestiami prawnymi – oraz przy poważnym potraktowaniu wcześniej lekceważonych przesłanek źródłowych pozwala ona na uzyskanie wartościowych ustaleń. Za najważniejsze rezultaty niniejszego studium w tym zakresie uznać trzeba prawdopodobne ustalenie genezy dóbr królewskich na terenie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc (zob. niżej i podrozdz. 5.6) oraz rozstrzygnięcie w kwestii statusu prawnego Milska w latach 1081–1112 (zob. niżej i podrozdz. 4.3).

Trzecią grupę zagadnień poruszanych w niniejszym opracowaniu stanowią kwestie związane z lokalną infrastrukturą władzy i zarządu omówione na przykładzie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc. W całym okresie omawianym w pracy podstawowy element tej infrastruktury stanowiły grody. Pod względem zagęszczenia pozostałości

grodów (tj. grodzisk) Górne Łużyce plasują się niewątpliwie na jednym z pierwszych miejsc w skali całej Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej, przy czym – o ile sądzić można z dostępnych danych archeologicznych – większość z grodów Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc funkcjonowała w X w., ewentualnie także w początkach XI w. Ścisłejsze rozwarstwienie chronologiczne założeń obronnych jest niemożliwe ze względu na stan ich przebadania i niedostateczne uzasadnienie źródłowe datowań poszczególnych obiektów (odnośne szczegóły w katalogu stanowisk). W związku z tym, rezultaty prezentowanego tu studium dotyczące grodów – pomijając kwestię okręgów grodowych (burgward), gdzie do przesłanek archeologicznych dodać można historyczne – ograniczają się do hipotez roboczych, stanowiących raczej postulaty dla przyszłych badań, niż wnioski ostateczne.

Oprócz grodzisk, analiza elementów lokalnej infrastruktury władzy i zarządu objęła także zjawiska niematerialne w postaci śladów dawnych jednostek zarządu: świeckich (okręgi grodowe, tzw. burgwardy) i kościelnych (tzw. protoparafie). Do rekonstrukcji okręgów grodowych zastosowano metodykę wypracowaną przez Gerharda Billiga (1989). Odtwarzając okręgi protoparafialne oparto się na studiach Carla Gotthelfa Theodora Neumanna, Joachima Hutha, Waltera Haupta i własnej kwerendzie archiwalnej autora; podstawą ich rekonstrukcji były informacje o powinnościach dziesięcinnych poszczególnych miejscowości, które odzwierciedlają najstarsze uchwytnie zasięgi parafii kościołów w Jauernick i Niedowie.

Główne tezy pracy: okres przedpaństwowy (rozdział 2)

W początkach swych średniowiecznych dziejów Wschodnie Górne Łużyce – pokrywające się terytorialnie z tzw. łużyckim skupiskiem grodzisk sudeckich wg Krzysztofa Jaworskiego (2005) – stanowiły obszar samodzielny pod względem politycznym. Miejscowi Słowianie tworzyli organizację etnopolityczną znaną jako *Besunzane*. Sytuacja polityczna na Wschodnich Górnych Łużycach zmieniła się diametralnie, gdy ziemie te opanowali sąsiedni Milczanie. W rozdziale 2 starano się wykazać, że w X w. Milczanie należeli do plemion dobrze zorganizowanych i czynnie uczestniczących w eurazjatyckim handlu dalekosiężnym. Dzięki temu, mimo istniejącej od 932 r. zależności trybutarnej od saskich Liudolfingów, Milczanie byli w stanie dość długo zachować autonomię polityczną oraz podjąć ekspansję na wschód. Prawdopodobne tło tej ekspansji stanowiła rywalizacja Ottona I z Bolesławem I, księciem Pragi, w latach 936–950 i zapewne w tym właśnie okresie doszło do podboju *Besunzane* przez Milczan.

Podbój ten nie doprowadził do masowego uprowadzenia w niewolę miejscowej ludności, jednak przerwał na długo samodzielność polityczną Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc, czyniąc z nich subregion marginalny w obrębie większej całości: Milska, czyli ziemi Milczan. Z okresem panowania Milczan nad Nysą Łużycką wiążąc należy prawdopodobnie znaczną część istniejących w tym subregionie grodzisk wczesnośredniowiecznych, w tym dwuczłonowe założenie na górze Landeskronen,

jednak sprawdzenie tych sugestii przynieść mogą jedynie nowe badania archeologiczne. Niedostateczny stan badań archeologicznych sprawia także, że trudno w sposób pewny wypowiadać się na temat lokalnych struktur władzy istniejących na terenie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc w okresie przedpaństwowym. Można jedynie wskazać, że spośród dwóch *civitates* wzmiankowanych w tzw. Geografie Bawarskim jako należące do Biezuńczan, jedno należy zapewne utożsamić ze stanowiskiem nr 1 w Niedowie, drugiego natomiast trzeba poszukiwać w północno-zachodniej części omawianego regionu.

Główne tezy pracy: 987–1081

Autonomię polityczną Milczan zakończyło ich włączenie do marchii Ekkeharda I z ośrodkiem w Miśni, zapewne niedługo po 987 r. W latach 1002–1018 Milsko stało się przedmiotem rywalizacji sąsiednich władców: Henryka II i Bolesława I Chrobrego. Przez cały ten okres dawna organizacja polityczna Milczan była postrzegana jako odrębne terytorium, nazywane też marchią. W latach 1004–1007 Milsko było nawet zarządzane z ramienia Henryka II przez osobnego komesa, tytułowanego też margrabią (*marchio*), w osobie Hermana I, starszego syna Ekkeharda I. Lokalna organizacja władzy i zarządu była oparta, podobnie jak w innych regionach połabskich zawojowanych przez Sasów, na okręgach grodowych, tzw. burgwardach. Wbrew obiegowej opinii, ugruntowanej dzięki studium Gerharda Billiga (1989), system ten objął prawdopodobnie nie tylko „rdzenne” Milsko, lecz także jego wschodnie rubieże.

Zrekonstruowanie sieci burgward Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc jest o tyle trudne, że w 1015 r. miała miejsce katastrofa, która diametralnie zmieniła bieg dziejów tego regionu. Mowa tu o wyprawie księcia czeskiego Udalryka, znanej z kroniki Thietmara z Merseburga, która zakończyła się zdobyciem grodu *Businc* oraz deportacją znacznej części ludności okolicy. W niniejszej pracy, w oparciu o retrospektywną analizę danych historycznych, historyczno-osadniczych i archeologicznych według metodyki wypracowanej przez Gerharda Billiga (1989) udało się wskazać dwa grody, które prawdopodobnie były ośrodkami burgward: obiekty obronne na Landeskrone i w Niedowie. Można także rozważać istnienie trzeciego okręgu grodowego w Niece Żytawskiej, jednak aktualny stan badań archeologicznych nie pozwala na stanowcze wypowiedzi w tej materii, gdyż osadnictwo tamtejsze nie jest dość dokładnie przebadane i datowane. Z listy okręgów grodowych Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc należy natomiast wykreślić domniemaną burgwardę z ośrodkiem na grodzie w Bratkowie i wykluczyć jej identyfikację ze wzmiankowanym w 1007 r. *castellum Ostrusna*, mianowicie z dwóch powodów. Po pierwsze, okręg grodowy *Ostrusna* musiał leżeć w zachodniej partii Milska, w pobliżu dwóch pozostałych wzmiankowanych w tym samym dokumencie (*Trebista* i *Godobi*). Po drugie, w świetle tzw. Górnołużyckiego Dokumentu Granicznego z 1241 r. (CDB 4/1, nr 4) i innych źródeł z XIII w., rejon Bratkowa leżał poza granicami posiadłości biskupich, w ich obrębie znajdował się natomiast gród w Niedowie.

W latach 1018–1031 Milskiem władali Piastowie: kolejno Bolesław I Chrobry i Mieszko II; niedostatek źródeł uniemożliwia jednak szczegółowe ustalenia na temat dziejów omawianego tu regionu w tym okresie. W 1031 r. Milsko zajął Konrad II, przywracając tej krainie status pogranicznego okręgu Królestwa Niemiec. W niniejszym opracowaniu starano się wykazać, że zarząd Milskiem został wówczas powierzony osobnemu komesowi w osobie Ekkeharda II. W latach 1031–1034 Milsko znów stanowiło więc samodzielną markę; następnie (1034) zjednoczone zostało z Marchią Wschodnią (Łużycką) i Miśnieńską (1038), jednak do końca panowania Ekkeharda II było postrzegane jako osobny składnik całego dominium Ekkehardynów, nazywany marką. Statusu tego nie utrzymało jednak po 1046 r. – gdy inne markie wkroczyły na drogę instytucjonalizacji – stając się tylko jedną z krain kresowych przynależnych do sąsiednich *comitatus*. Jak starano się wykazać w podrozdziale 3.2.2, wbrew powszechnej w historiografii opinii, Milsko nie podzieliło jednak w 1046 r. losu Marchii Miśnieńskiej, lecz wraz z Marchią Wschodnią (Łużycką) zostało oddane w zarząd Dediemu II z Wettynu. Dopiero bunt tego ostatniego w 1069 r. przyniósł odebranie mu Milska i oddanie go pod panowanie Egberta II, margrabiego Miśni.

Powrót Milska pod rządy niemieckie w 1031 r. oraz zmiana priorytetów strategicznych w polityce wschodniej Cesarstwa – w miejsce Piastów głównym przeciwnikiem Konrada II i Henryka III stał się książę czeski Brzetysław I – w sposób przemożny wpłynęły na dalsze losy Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc. Z przesłanek pośrednich można wywnioskować, że Ekkehard II – zapewne nie bez wiedzy i upoważnienia królewskiego – potraktował te wyludnione ziemie jako część swojego alodialnego dominium. Prawdopodobnie to właśnie Ekkehard II zorganizował na terenie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc przyczółek obecności politycznej i militarnej Królestwa Niemiec, przekazując dawny okręg grodowy niedowski biskupstwu miśnieńskiemu. Do okresu konfrontacji Królestwa Niemiec z Czechami w latach 40. XI w. należy zapewne także odnieść początek okresu intensywnego użytkowania grodu w Bratkowie oraz osadzenie we Wschodnich Górnych Łużycach rycerzy obdarzonych beneficjami w postaci nadań ziemskich. Z braku źródeł nie sposób zresztą całkowicie wykluczyć, że część przedstawionych powyżej działań podjęli już sukcesorzy zmarłego w 1046 r. Ekkeharda II w osobach królów z dynastii salickiej (Henryka III i Henryka IV). Pod ich władzą posiadłości świeckie na terenie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc zachowały status dóbr alodialnych – tyle że należących do monarchów – rozdzielonych na beneficja; generalną zwierzchność nad nimi (zapewne głównie w aspekcie militarnym) zachowali przy tym władający kolejno Milskiem komesi (margrabiowie).

Główne tezy pracy: 1081–1126

Nowy okres w dziejach całych Górnych Łużyc otworzyło objęcie ich w posiadanie przez Wratysława II, księcia czeskiego. Wydarzenie to miało miejsce najprawdopodobniej w 1081 r. i było skutkiem przeprowadzonego za sprawą cesarza Henryka IV podziału

dotychczasowej marchii Egberta II, który zachował władzę w Miśni, ale zrzekł się na rzecz Wratysława Miłska i ziemi Niżan (nad Łabą). Już w 1084 r. Wratysław odstąpił obydwie ziemie Wiprechtowi II z Groitzsch tytułem posagu swej córki Judyty. Jest kwestią sporną, na jakich prawach posiadali Miłsko i kraj Niżan najpierw Wratysław, a potem Wiprecht. W świetle analizy przeprowadzonej w podrozdziale 4.3, najprawdopodobniej w 1081 r. obydwa terytoria otrzymał Wratysław jako beneficjum od Henryka IV, a przekazanie ich Wiprechtowi nastąpiło na zasadach substytucji lennej; wbrew sugestiom i przypuszczeniom spotykanym w piśmiennictwie historycznym nie miała natomiast w tym przypadku miejsca subinfeudacja.

Dość szeroko akceptowana jest w historiografii teza Richarda Jechta (1930), że już w 1081 r. Wschodnie Górne Łużyce zostały oddzielone od pozostałej części Miłska. Ponowna analiza argumentacji Jechta wykazała, że hipoteza ta jest nieuzasadniona; jeśli rozdzielenie Miłska na część wschodnią (Wschodnie Górne Łużyce) i część środkowo-zachodnią (późniejsza ziemia budziszyńska) w ogóle miało miejsce za panowania Henryka IV, to należy raczej brać pod uwagę datę 1084, gdy miało miejsce wydzielenie posagu księżniczce Judycie, wydawanej wówczas za mąż za Wiprechta II z Groitzsch. Na pomysł podziału Miłska w 1084 r. także należy spojrzeć sceptycznie; podział taki byłby z perspektywy władców Pragi po prostu niepraktyczny. Warto w tym kontekście zaznaczyć, że brak z okresu 1081–1126 jakichkolwiek śladów działań organizacyjnych Przemyślidów na terenie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc; śladem takim nie musi być wcale fundacja kościoła pw. św. Wacława (dynastycznego świętego patrona Przemyślidów) w Jauernick, która mogła być dokonana przez Judytę czeską, jej męża Wiprechta bądź syna Henryka.

Pierwszym momentem, w którym nastąpić mogło organizacyjne rozdzielenie „rdzennego” Miłska wokół Budziszyńska i jego wschodnich terytoriów położonych w dorzeczu Nysy, był rok 1112, gdy obydwa terytoria otrzymane przez Wiprechta II tytułem posagu żony znalazły się pod bezpośrednią władzą króla Henryka V. W odniesieniu do ziemi Niżan ta zmiana sytuacji politycznej zaowocowała stworzeniem przez władcę przyczółka stałej, zinstytucjonalizowanej obecności władzy cesarskiej w postaci burgrafschaftu Dohna. W źródłach brak jednak danych o podobnej reorganizacji przeprowadzonej na terenie późniejszych Górnych Łużyc, w związku z czym należy domyślać się, że status dóbr dominialnych Cesarstwa na terenie wschodniej części tej krainy nie uległ zmianie (tj. pozostały one pod zarządem aktualnego posiadacza Miłska). Należy jednak brać pod uwagę ewentualność, że posiadłości monarsze na terenie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc już w 1117 r. – w momencie częściowej restytucji dóbr Wiprechtowi II – znalazły się, podobnie jak burgrafschaft Dohna, pod zarządem księcia czeskiego Władysława I.

Główne tezy pracy: 1126–1156

Pierwszy książę czeski, którego władza na Górnych Łużycach po 1084 r. jest bezspornie poświadczona, to Sobiesław I (1126–1140). Już w pierwszym roku swych rządów

władca ten odbudowywał gród *Zgorzelec nad Nysą (zlokalizowany na tzw. Wzgórzu Zamkowym, *Burgberg*, obecnie w obrębie Starego Miasta w Görlitz); ponowne prace budowlane przy tym obiekcie na polecenie Sobiesława podjęto w 1131 r. Nie wiadomo, w jaki sposób Sobiesław stał się posiadaczem grodu zgorzeleckiego i otaczających go cesarskich dominiów. Dopuszczalne są dwie możliwości: albo objął te tereny w posiadanie jako następca brata, Władysława I (por. wyżej), albo otrzymał władzę nad Nysą w ramach porozumienia zawartego z królem Lotarem III po tzw. drugiej bitwie pod Chlumcem (18 II 1126). Ta ostatnia ewentualność wydaje się bardziej prawdopodobna, szczególnie że pośrednikiem między Sobiesławem I a Lotarem III był ówczesny posiadacz Milska, graf Henryk z Groitzsch. Niestety, żadna z przedstawionych ewentualności nie jest oparta na bezpośrednich świadectwach źródłowych, w związku z czym na użytek przyszłych badań należy brać pod uwagę każdą z nich.

Dzięki rzekomemu dokumentowi fundacyjnemu kapituły w Starej Boleslavi, powstałemu w XII w. (CDB 1, nr 382), wiadomo że za rządów tego władcy i w początkach panowania jego następcy, Władysława II, istniał osobny *pagus Isgorelik* z ośrodkiem we wspomnianym grodzie zgorzeleckim. Ta efemeryczna jednostka zarządu była prawdopodobnie tożsama z terytorium znanym w późniejszym okresie (1143–1156) jako Zagozd, wzmiankowanym po raz pierwszy w dokumencie Konrada III z listopada 1144 r. (MGH DK III, 119). Trzon tego terytorium stanowić musiały dominialne posiadłości monarsze, jednak, jak wynika z treści przywołanego dyplomu, margrabia Konrad rozporządzał także pewnym zakresem władzy nad dobrami biskupów miśnieńskich położonymi w dorzeczu Nisy.

Rządy na tym terenie sprawował najpierw Sobiesław I, potem Władysław II, a następnie margrabia Miśni Konrad z Wettynu w oparciu o szeroką delegację uprawnień ze strony monarchy. Ze względu na niewielką liczbę dostępnych źródeł wiadomo jedynie, że zakres tej delegacji obejmował prawo dysponowania dochodami monarszymi na rzecz instytucji kościelnych (*casus* kapituły w Staré Boleslavi) oraz kontrolę nad wykonywaniem przez mieszkańców dóbr biskupich lokalnych obowiązków związanych z obroną granic (stróża). Książę Sobiesław został także najwyraźniej upoważniony do przenoszenia prawa własności niektórych posiadłości monarszych. Na ślad tego rodzaju rozporządzenia natrafić można śledząc los posiadłości biskupich w *villa Goreliz*, które najprawdopodobniej właśnie za tego władcy zostały odstąpione przez biskupstwo, zapewne w zamian za osiedla położone na terenie późniejszego Eigensche Kreis.

Zapewne w okresie zarządczej odrębności Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc bądź bezpośrednio po jego zakończeniu, niewątpliwie na początku rządów Fryderyka I Barbarossy (1152–1157), terytorium to było wzmiankowane jako *Milza* w tzw. wykazie dóbr stołowych króla niemieckiego (edycja: Brühl, Kölzer 1979, 53, Taf. I, III; por. także Kobuch 1996). Jest mało prawdopodobne, by wzmiankę tę należało traktować jako świadectwo, że Wschodnie Górne Łużyce stanowiły dobra stołowe *sensu strictiori*, tj. posiadłość wydzieloną dla celów utrzymania króla

niemieckiego, z trzech powodów. Po pierwsze, królowie bardzo rzadko bywali osobiście w tych stronach, po drugie, brak jednoznacznych świadectw, że dobra tego rodzaju funkcjonowały w królestwach Niemiec i Italii w czasach pierwszych Hohenstaufów, po trzecie wreszcie: dobra królewskie we Wschodnich Górnych Łużycach nie pozostawały w bezpośrednim władaniu monarchy.

Wzmiankę o *Milza* w tzw. wykazie dóbr stołowych króla niemieckiego należy zatem interpretować jedynie jako dowód na to, że w połowie XII w. istniały nadal na tym terenie dobra alodialne królów niemieckich, obejmujące zapewne całe nie należące do biskupów miśnieńskich terytorium Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc. Retrospektywnym poświadczeniem tego stanu rzeczy są czynsze pieprzowe, występujące w licznych miejscowościach tego regionu; w książce zaprezentowano ich tabelaryczne i kartograficzne zestawienie w oparciu o badania Joachima Hutha, Waltera Haupta, Manfreda Kobucha i własne autora.

Podsumowanie

Rezultaty badań przedstawionych w książce składają się na obraz polityki konkretnych ośrodków władzy względem regionu stanowiącego najdalszą peryferię ich wpływu. Przez większość okresu omawianego w pracy polityka kolejnych królów niemieckich względem Górnych Łużyc opierała się na delegowaniu bieżącego zarządu innym podmiotom: najpierw zależnej słowiańskiej organizacji politycznej (Milczanom), następnie kolejnym margrabiom. Do 1081 r. ramy prawne owej delegacji uprawnień w skali całego Miłska stanowiła struktura polityczna Cesarstwa, jednak w odniesieniu do Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc zapewne już po 1031 r. władcy niemieccy zadowolili się jedynie generalną zwierzchnością, pozwalając Ekkehardowi II na stworzenie na tym terenie alodialnego dominium. Odziedziczenie schedy po Ekkehardynach przez Henryka III sprawiło, że na terenie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc pojawił się kompleks dominialnych posiadłości królewskich, jednak nie zmieniło generalnej linii polityki kolejnych władców, którzy wschodnie kresy swego państwa traktowali jako rodzaj wynagrodzenia dla swych zwolenników. Apogeum tej praktyki stanowiły lata 1081–1112, gdy Miłsko jako beneficjum pozostawało w posiadaniu najpierw Wratysława II, a następnie Wiprechta II z Groitzsch.

Dopiero Henryk V zaczął pracować nad zbudowaniem podstaw swej bezpośredniej władzy w regionach oderwanych w 1081 r. od Miśni przez jego ojca, przynajmniej w ziemi Niżan powołując osobny pion zarządu dobrami monarszymi i niektórymi uprawnieniami władzy zwierzchniej w postaci burggrafschaftu w Dohna. Nic nie wiadomo o podobnych przedsięwzięciach tego monarchy dotyczących wschodniej części Miłska; niewątpliwie jednak jeśli nie za Henryka V (zapewne w 1117 r.), to za jego następcy Lotara III (1126) bardzo podobny zabieg – oddzielenie dóbr dominialnych w dorzeczu Nysy wraz z wiązką uprawnień władczych od reszty Miłska i oddanie ich w zarząd innej osobie (księciu czeskiemu: Władysławowi I lub Sobiesławowi I) – został wykonany w odniesieniu do Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc. Powstała w ten

sposób nowa, efemeryczna jednostka zarządu, pod władzą Sobiesława I zwana od głównego grodu okręgiem zgorzeleckim (*pagus Isgorelik*), a następnie, pod rządami Konrada I z Wettynu: Zagozdem. Z perspektywy pragmatyki zarządu terytorium to było jednak zbyt małe, by zarządzał nim osobny dostojnik królewski, w związku z czym nawet w okresie największej ekspansji instytucji królewskiego burgrafschaftu (kasztelanii) w 1156 r. Wschodnie Górne Łużyce nie znalazły się w rzędzie krain, które otrzymałyby własnych królewskich kasztelanów. W ten sposób zakończył się trzydziestoletni epizod zarządczej odrębności Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc od pozostałej części Milska.

W książce przeprowadzono analizę środków sprawowania władzy w oparciu o ich podział na doraźne (np. obsada personalna stanowisk zarządu terytorialnego) i strukturalne (stanowiące ramy formalno-prawne zarządu). Jej wynikiem było stwierdzenie, że przez większą część okresu omawianego w pracy najistotniejsze z perspektywy kolejnych władców Niemiec były środki doraźne – przede wszystkim przekazywanie odległych prowincji w zarząd osobom zaufanym. Za najsilniejszą formę zastosowania tego rodzaju środka uznano przekazanie prowincji osobom spoza ścisłej elity Rzeszy (*homines novi*), które, co znamienne, odbywało się często na preferencyjnych warunkach, jeśli idzie o strukturalne środki władzy (przekazywanie terenu jako zwykłe beneficjum, a nie jako *comitatus*, delegowanie specjalnych uprawnień). Pierwszym władcą terytorialnym zarządzającym Górnymi Łużycami, który na poważną skalę skorzystał z takiej polityki królewskiej (konkretnie: Lotara III) w celu budowy własnego władztwa był jednak dopiero Sobiesław I (1125–1140). Kontrakcja królewska, mająca na celu wzmocnienie władzy nad Górnymi Łużycami z użyciem zarówno środków doraźnych, jak też strukturalnych, nastąpiła już za Konrada III (1138–1152) i na początku panowania Fryderyka I (1152–1190). Nie wdając się tu w dalsze szczegóły, dostępne w odnośnych partiach pracy, można wysunąć przypuszczenie, że w drugim i trzecim dziesięcioleciu XII w. zmieniło się postrzeganie Wschodnich Górnych Łużyc zarówno ze strony monarchów niemieckich, jak też władców terytorialnych: zamiast jako kresowa kraina, stanowiąca balast, którego należy się możliwie korzystnie pozbyć, obszar ten zaczął być traktowany jako miejsce dające możliwość zbudowania przyczółka silnego władztwa. Za panowania Fryderyka I Barbarossy nastąpił jednak nawrót do polityki, jaką praktykowali względem całego Milska kolejni władcy niemieccy do Henryka IV włącznie: delegowania uprawnień władczych osobom trzecim. Beneficjentami tej polityki zostali Przemyslidzi, obejmując władzę w Milsku na dalszych niemal sto lat.

Zusammenfassung

Territorialer und chronologischer Umfang der Bearbeitung

Dieses Studium ist ein Versuch, politische Geschichte, sowie Geschichte der Verwaltungsformen einer kleinen Region in Ostmitteleuropa im Früh- und Hochmittelalter darzustellen. Region, die als besonderer Gegenstand im Interessenkreis des Buches steht, ist die Oberlausitz (lat. *Lusatia Superior*). Als untere chronologische Zäsur gilt in diesem Beitrag die Zeitspanne von der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jh. bis zur 1. Hälfte des 10. Jh. auf die die ältesten schriftlichen und materiellen, das Leben der im oberen Spree- und Neißegebiet wohnhaften Slawen dokumentierenden Quellen zurückzuführen sind. Als obere chronologische Grenze wurde das Jahr 1156 angenommen, das in der Geschichte der Oberlausitz eine und strukturelle Zäsur bildet. Organisatorische Rahmen der Verwaltung schuf ab 1156 die Einführung der Burggrafschaft (Kastellanei) Bautzen, und dann des Amtes Bautzener Landvogtes. In diesem Studium wird dagegen die Zeit vor der Berufung der Ämter des Kastellanen und des Landvogtes in der Oberlausitz behandelt, also die Zeit zuerst der vorstaatlichen Strukturen (sog. Stammesstrukturen), dann der Verwaltungssysteme, die konventionell in Anknüpfung an die Leistungen der polnischen und tschechischen Mädievistik als Burgwallorganisation genannt werden können.

Quellengrundlagen und Arbeitsmethodik

Die Quellengrundlage des Studiums bilden schriftliche und materielle Quellen. Der Bestand der berücksichtigten schriftlichen Quellen aus dem im Buch behandelten Zeitraum umfasst narrative Quellen (Chroniken und Annalen) sowie Urkunden. Die geben aber ein ungleichmässiges Bild des jenes Zeitabschnittes; im Zusammenhang damit musste die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte der Oberlausitz in dieser Zeit um eine retrogressive Berücksichtigung der aus den späteren Quellen stammenden Prämissen, u.a. aus der sog. Oberlausitzer Grenzurkunde aus dem Jahr 1241 (CDB 4/1, Nr. 4), bereichert werden.

Das bei der Analyse der schriftlichen Quellen erworbene Bild wurde durch Anwendung archäologischer Materialien ergänzt. Es wurde dabei davon ausgegangen, dass trotz ungenügenden Standes archäologischer Forschungen mit der Berücksichtigung dieser Quellenkategorie auf eine merkliche Besserung des Forschungsstandes nicht gewartet werden darf, was aus der Perspektive historischer Forschungen, die von der Archäologie präzise Datierungen und möglichst eindeutige Schlussfolgerungen verlangen, erst in einigen Jahrzehnten oder gar nicht erfolgen kann. Die Einbeziehung archäologischer Quellen ermöglichte den Versuch, die Organisation von Herrschaft und Verwaltung für die durch schriftliche Quellen am spärlichsten belegte Zeit in Umrissen darzustellen, d.h. die sog. Stammeszeit.

Thematischer Umfang des Buches

Hauptfragen des vorliegenden Studiums sind Herrschaft und Verwaltung auf der regionalen (Milska) und subregionalen (Ostoberlausitz) Ebene. Um diese Probleme einer gehörigen Analyse unterziehen zu können, musste die politische Geschichte des ganzen Milska in der behandelten Zeit gründlich untersucht und in manchen Bereichen einfach aufs neue geschrieben werden. Diese Leistung war trotz Mangel an früher unbekannten narrativen Quellen und Urkunden durch Einbeziehung archäologischer Angaben, geopolitischen Kontextes der Ereignisse und retrospektiver Schlussfolgerung möglich, sowie durch Diskussion über gewisse Axiomen, die bisher in den Forschungen über die Oberlausitzer Geschichte ziemlich automatisch angenommen wurden (z.B. apriorische Annahme, dass Milska in den Jahren 1031-1081 einen integralen Bestandteil der Mark Meißen bildete). Herangezogen wurde die von polnischen Historikern des Frühmittelalters erarbeitete Methode, wie auch gewisse Thesen deutscher Forscher (u.a. R. Kötzschke, H. Ludat, J. Huth, W. Schlesinger), die bis jetzt keine gehörige Widerspiegelung in den vorhandenen Vorstellungen zur damaligen Oberlausitzer Geschichte gefunden haben. Dank des oben geschilderten Vorgehens ist es gelungen, u.a. die Eroberung der Běžunčane durch Milčane präziser zu datieren (in die Jahre 936-950), auf den bisher unbekannten Zeitraum der von Meißen unabhängigen Verwaltung von Milska als separates *comitatus* (1031-1034), hinzudeuten, sowie in die Oberlausitzer Geschichte des 11. Jh. die Amtszeit des Grafen Dedi II. von Wettin (1046-1069) einzuführen, die Konzeption von Richard Jecht (1930) zur Teilung der Oberlausitz am Anfang der 80er Jahre abzulehnen und das in den *Annales Pegavienses* angegebene Datum der Wiedergabe von Milska an Wiprecht II. von Groitzsch (1117) zu verteidigen.

Die zweite Gruppe der in diesem Beitrag angesprochenen Problemen bilden rechtsgeschichtliche Fragen. Gegenstand der in den weiteren Kapiteln geführten Analyse ist nämlich der rechtliche Status des ganzen Milska und der Ostoberlausitz im Rahmen größerer politischer Strukturen, deren Bestandteil diese Gebiete waren, vor allem des westlichen Kaiserreiches und dessen Marken. Angesichts der verfügbaren Quellengrundlagen hatte hier die Schlussfolgerung oft Indiziencharakter, indem sie auf der Retrospektion von den Folgen einzelner Rechtstätigkeiten bis zu ihrer formellen Qualifizierung basierte. Obwohl dieses Verfahren riskant scheint, lässt sie nach der früheren Bearbeitung der untrennbar mit den Rechtsfragen zusammenhängenden Hauptprobleme aus der politischen Geschichte, sowie bei seriöser Behandlung der früher missachteten Quellenprämissen wertvolle Feststellungen erlangen. Als wichtigste Ergebnisse dieses Studiums in diesem Bereich sollten die wahrscheinliche Bestimmung der Genese des königlichen Güter auf dem Gebiet der Ostoberlausitz (siehe unten und Unterkap. 5.6) und die Entscheidung über den rechtlichen Status von Milsko in den Jahren 1081-1112 (siehe unten und Unterkap. 4.3) angesehen werden.

Dritte Gruppe der in diesem Beitrag angesprochenen Themen bilden die mit der lokalen Infrastruktur der Herrschaft und Verwaltung im Zusammenhang

stehenden Fragen, die auf dem Beispiel der Ostoberlausitz besprochen wurden. In dem ganzen hier behandelten Zeitabschnitt waren die Wallburgen das grundlegende Element jener Infrastruktur. Hinsichtlich der Vorkommensdichte von Überresten von Burgwällen placiert sich Oberlausitz sicherlich auf einem der ersten Plätze im Westslawentum, wobei – insoweit den verfügbaren archäologischen Angaben zu entnehmen ist – die meisten Burgwälle der Ostoberlausitz im 10. ev. auch am Anfang des 11. Jh. funktioniert haben. Genauere chronologische Bestimmung der Befestigungen ist unmöglich wegen des archäologischen Forschungsstandes und ungenügender Quellennachweise für die Datierung einzelner Wehranlagen (Details siehe Fundstellenkatalog im Anhang). Angesichts dessen sind die Resultate des Studiums zu den Burgwällen – abgesehen von der Frage der Burgwarde, wo zu den archäologischen auch historische Voraussetzungen hinzugefügt werden können - auf Arbeitshypothesen beschränkt, die eher als Postulate für die künftigen Foscungen, als endgültige Schlüsse zu betrachten sind.

Analyse von Elementen der lokalen Infrastruktur der Herrschaft und Verwaltung umfasste auch immaterielle Erscheinungen in Form von Spuren alter Verwaltungseinheiten: weltlicher (Burgbezirke, sog. Burgwarde) und kirchlicher (sog. Urfparreien und ihre Sprengel). Zur Rekonstruktion der Burgwälle wurde die von Gerhard Billig (1989) erarbeitete Methode angewandt. Bei der Wiederherstellung der Urfparreien basierte der Verfasser auf den Studien von Carl Gotthelf Theodor Neumann, Joachim Huth, Walter Haupt und der eigenen Archivrecherchen; Grundlage für deren Rekonstruktion waren Informationen über die Zehntpflichten einzelner Ortschaften, die die älteste erkennbare Ausdehnung der Pfarreien der Kirchen in Jauernick und Niedów widerspiegeln.

Hauptthesen des Verfahrens: vorstaatliche Zeit (Kap. 2)

Am Anfang ihrer mittelalterlichen Geschichte war Ostoberlausitz, die räumlich mit der sog. Von Krzysztof Jaworski definierten (2005) Lausitzer Gruppe von Sudetenburgwällen zusammenfiel, ein politisch selbstständiges Gebiet. Lokale Slawen bildeten eine ethnopolitische als *Besunzane* bezeichnete Organisation. Politische Situation in der Ostoberlausitz hat sich total geändert, als diese Gebiete von den benachbarten Milčanen beherrscht worden waren. Im Kapitel 2 wurde versucht zu beweisen, dass Milčanen im 10. Jh. zu gut organisierten und am euroasiatischen Fernhandel aktiv tätigen Stämmen gehörten. Dank dessen, trotz seit 932 bestehender Tributabhängigkeit von den sächsischen Liudolfingen, waren Milčanen in der Lage, ziemlich lange politische Autonomie aufrechtzuerhalten und eine Expansion nach dem Osten vorzunehmen. Im Hintergrund stand wohl Rivalisation Ottos I. mit dem Prager Fürsten Boleslav I. in den Jahren 936-950 und in diesem Zeitraum dürfte zur Eroberung der *Besunzane* durch Milczanen gekommen sein.

Diese Eroberung hatte keine massenhafte Entführung der lokalen Bevölkerung zur Folge, hat allerdings für lange Zeit die politische Unabhängigkeit östlicher

Oberlausitz unterbrochen, indem sie sie zu einer marginalen Subregion im Rahmen einer größeren Organisation machte: Milskas, also des Landes der Milczanen. Auf die Herrschaftszeit der Milczanen an der Lausitzer Neiße ist wohl der größte Teil der in dieser Subregion vorhandenen frühmittelalterlichen Burgwälle zurückzuführen, darunter eine zweigliedrige Anlage auf dem Berg Landeskrona, allerdings nur neue archäologische Untersuchungen können diese Vermutungen verifizieren. Wegen unzulänglichen Standes archäologischer Untersuchungen fällt es schwer, sich zu den lokalen Herrschaftsstrukturen in östlicher Oberlausitz in vorstaatlicher Zeit zu äußern. Es darf lediglich darauf hingewiesen werden, dass von den zwei in dem sog. Bayrischen Geographen als den Běžučanen gehörigen erwähnten *civitates* das eine mit der Fundstelle nr 1 in Niedów Beziehung gebracht werden dürfte, das zweite müsste im nordwestlichen Teil der behandelten Region gesucht werden,

Hauptthesen des Beitrags: 987–1081

Politische Autonomie der Milczanen ging durch ihre Einbeziehung in die Mark Ekkehard I. mit dem Zentrum in Meißen zu Ende, sicherlich kurz nach 987. In den Jahren 1002–1018 ist Milska zum Zankapfel der benachbarten Herrscher: Heinrichs II. und Boleslavs I. des Tapferen geworden. In diesem ganzen Zeitraum galt die politische Organisation von Milczanen als separates Territorium, bezeichnet auch als Mark. In den Jahren 1004–1007 war Milska sogar von einem, von Heinrich II. berufenen, auch als Markgraf betitelten Comes regiert (*marchio*), nämlich Hermann I., dem älteren Sohn von Ekkehard I. Lokale Herrschafts- und Verwaltungsorganisation stützte sich, ähnlich wie in anderen polabischen, von Sachsen unterworfenen Regionen auf Burgbezirke, die sog. Burgward. Der allgemein vertretenen, durch das Studium von Gerhard Billig“ (1989) begründeten Auffassung zuwider, umfasste dieses System nicht nur das eigentliche Milska, sondern auch dessen östliche Randgebiete.

Die Rekonstruktion des Burgwardnetzes der Ostoberlausitz bereitet insofern Schwierigkeiten, dass im Jahre 1015 eine Katastrophe passiert ist, die den Verlauf der Geschichte dieser Region total verändert hat. Es handelt sich um den aus der Chronik von Thietmar aus Merseburg bekannten Feldzug des böhmischen Fürsten Udalrich, der mit der Eroberung der Burgwall *Businc* sowie mit der Deportation eines erheblichen Teiles der Bevölkerung der Umgebung endete. In Anlehnung an die retrospektive Analyse der historischen, siedlungsgeschichtlichen und archäologischen Angaben, gemäß der von Gerhard Billig (1989) erarbeiteten Methodik, ist es in diesem Beitrag gelungen, auf zwei Burgwälle hinzudeuten, die wahrscheinlichen Burgwardsmittelpunkte waren: die Wehranlagen auf Landeskrona und in Niedów. Es könnte das Vorhandensein eines dritten Burgbezirkes im Zittauer Becken erwogen werden, aber der aktuelle Stand archäologischer Forschungen lässt keine endgültige Antwort darauf zu, weil die dortige Besiedlung noch nicht genau genug untersucht und datiert worden ist. Von der Liste der Burgbezirke der Ostoberlausitz ist dagegen der angebliche Burgward mit dem Zentrum auf dem

Burgwall in Bratków zu streichen und seine Identifizierung mit dem 1007 erwähnten *castellum Ostrusna* auszuschließen, nämlich aus zwei Gründen. Erstens müsste der Burgbezirk *Ostrusna* im Westbereich von Milska in der Nähe von zwei weiteren in dieser Urkunde erwähnten Bezirken (*Trebista* i *Godobi*) gelegen haben. Zweitens, gemäß der sog. Oberlausitzer Grenzurkunde aus 1241 (CDB 4/1, Nr. 4) und anderen Quellen aus dem 13. Jh. lag das Gebiet von Bratków außerhalb der bischöflichen Besitzungen, während innerhalb dieser Güter sich nur der Burgwall w Niedów befand.

In den Jahren 1018-1031 wurde Milska von Piasten regiert: der Reihe nach Boleslav I. dem Tapferen und Mieszko II.: wegen nur ganz wenigen Quellen waren detaillierte Festlegungen zur Geschichte der hier behandelten Region für diesen Zeitabschnitt unmöglich. Im Jahre 1031 hat Konrad II. Milska besetzt und diesem Land den Statut des Grenzgebietes des Deutschen Königreiches wiederhergestellt. In diesem Beitrag wurde versucht, darauf zu verweisen, dass die Verwaltung Milskas dem separaten Comes in der Person Ekkehards II. anvertraut wurde. In den Jahren 1031–1034 bildete also Milska wieder eine selbständige Mark; danach (1038) wurde es mit Ostmark (Lausitzer Mark) und Mark Meißen (1038) vereinigt, allerdings bis Ende der Herrschaftszeit Ekkehards II. galt es als getrennter Bestandteil des ganzen Dominiums der Ekkehardiner und wurde als Mark bezeichnet. Diesen Status hat es aber nach 1046 nicht aufrechterhalten – als andere Marken den Weg der Institutionalisierung betreten haben – und ist zu einem der zu den benachbarten *comitatus* gehörenden Randgebiete geworden. Wie es in dem Unterkapitel 3.2.2 der allgemeinen Auffassung in der Geschichtsschreibung zuwider nachzuweisen versucht wurde, hat aber Milska im Jahre 1046 nicht das Schicksal der Mark Meißen geteilt, sondern es wurde samt der Ostmark (Lausitzer Mark) dem Dedi von Wettin zur Verwaltung übergeben. Erst die Rebellion des letztgenannten 1069 hatte zur Folge, dass ihm Milska zurückgenommen und Egbert II., dem Markgrafen von Meißen zur Verwaltung übergeben wurde.

Die Rückkehr Milskas 1031 unter die deutsche Herrschaft sowie die Änderung der strategischen Prioritäten in der Ostpolitik des Kaiserreiches – statt Piasten ist der böhmische Fürst Břetislav I. zum Hauptgegner Konrads II. und Ekkehards II. geworden – haben sich auf weitere Schicksale östlicher Oberlausitz stark ausgewirkt. Aus mittelbaren Voraussetzungen kann man schließen, dass Ekkehard II. – sicherlich nicht ohne Wissen und Befugnis des Königs – diese entvölkerten Gebiete als einen Teil seines alodialen Dominiums betrachtete. Ekkehard II. war eben derjenige, der in Ostoberlausitz den Stützpunkt politischer und militärischer Anwesenheit des Deutschen Reiches organisierte, indem er den alten Burgbezirk Niedów dem Meißener Bistum übergab. Zur Konfrontationszeit des Deutschen Königreiches mit Böhmen in den vierziger Jahren des 11. Jh. sollten auch der Anfang intensiver Nutzung des Burgwalls in Bratków und die Ansiedlung der mit Benefizien in Form von Landgütern belehnten Ritter in der Ostoberlausitz gerechnet werden. Wegen Mangel an Quellen lässt sich übrigens nicht ganz ausschließen, dass einen Teil der

oben dargestellten Aktivitäten schon Nachfolger des 1046 verstorbenen Ekkehard II., Könige aus dem salischen Haus (Heinrich III. und Heinrich IV.) vorgenommen haben. Unter ihrer Verwaltung haben die weltlichen Güter auf dem Gebiet östlicher Oberlausitz den Status alodialer Güter behalten, die zum Monarchen gehörend, auf Benefizien verteilt waren; generelle Oberaufsicht darüber blieb aber bei den Milska verwaltenden Comes (Markgrafen).

Hauptthesen des Beitrags: 1081–1126

Ein neues Kapitel in der Geschichte der ganzen Oberlausitz wurde mit deren Übernahme in Besitz durch Wratislav II., den böhmischen Fürsten, geöffnet. Dies ereignete sich wahrscheinlich 1081 und war die Folge der vom Kaiser Heinrich IV. durchgeführten Teilung der Mark von Egbert II., der die Herrschaft in Meißen behalten hat, verzichtete aber zugunsten Vratislavs auf Milska und das Land von Nižanen (an der Elbe). Schon 1084 trat er beide Länder als Mitgift seiner Tochter Judith dem Wiprecht II. von Groitzsch ab. Umstritten ist, auf welcher rechtlichen Grundlage zuerst Wratislav und dann Wiprecht Milska und das Land der Nižanen besaßen. Im Lichte der im Kapitel 4.3 durchgeführten Analyse hat Vratislav diese Territorien von Heinrich IV. als Benefizium erhalten und deren Übergabe an Wiprecht geschah als Lehnssubstitution. Keinesfalls haben wir hier mit der Weitergabe des Lehens zu tun, wie es in der Geschichtsschreibung behauptet wird.

Ziemlich weit verbreitet ist in der Historiografie die Akzeptanz der These von Richard Jecht (1930), dass schon 1081 die Ostoberlausitz von dem übrigen Teil von Milska abgesondert wurde. Die erneute Analyse der Argumentation von Jecht hat erwiesen, dass diese Hypothese unbegründet ist; sollte die Teilung von Milska in Ostteil (Ostoberlausitz) und in mittel-westlichem Teil unter Heinrich IV. erfolgt haben, so müsste vielmehr das Datum 1084 in Betracht gezogen werden, als die Mitgift für die an Wiprecht II. von Groitzsch verheiratete Prinzessin Judith ausgesondert wurde. Der Gedanke über die Teilung von Milska im Jahre 1084 ist eher skeptisch anzusehen; aus der Perspektive der Prager Herrscher wäre eine solche Teilung einfach unpraktisch gewesen. In diesem Kontext sollte darauf hingewiesen werden, dass es irgendwelche Spuren von organisatorischen Unternehmungen der Přemysliden auf den Gebieten östlicher Oberlausitz aus den Jahren 1081–1126 fehlen; die Stiftung der Wenzelskirche (dynastischer Schutzheiliger der Přemysliden) in Jauernick muss gar nicht eine solche Spur sein, weil sie durch böhmische Judith, ihren Mann Wiprecht oder ihren Sohn Heinrich gestiftet werden konnte.

Als erster Zeitpunkt, in dem die organisatorische Trennung des Kernlandes von Milska um Bautzen herum und dessen Ostterritorien im Neißegebiet erfolgen konnte, kommt das Jahr 1112 in Frage, als beide von Wiprecht II. als Mitgift seiner Frau erhaltene Territorien unter unmittelbare Herrschaft des Königs Heinrich V. geraten waren. Für das Land der Nižanen hat die Änderung der politischen Situation, die Schöpfung durch diesen Herrscher eines Ansatzpunktes für die

ständige institutionelle Anwesenheit der kaiserlichen Herrschaft in Form von Burgrafschaft Dohna gebracht. In den Quellen fehlen allerdings Informationen zu einer ähnlichen, auf dem Gebiet der späteren Oberlausitz durchgeführten Umgestaltung, was vermuten lässt, dass der Status dominialer Güter des Kaisertums auf dem Gebiet des östlichen Teiles dieser Region keine Veränderung erfahren hat (d.h. sie sind unter der Verwaltung des aktuellen Besitzers von Milska geblieben). Es sei aber mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass die königlichen Güter in der Ostoberlausitz schon 1117 – im Moment der Rückgabe dieser Güter an Wiprecht II. – ebenso wie die Burgrafschaft Dohna, in die Verwaltung des böhmischen Fürsten Vladislav I. gerieten.

Hauptthesen des Beitrags: 1126–1156

Der erste böhmische Fürst, dessen Herrschaft in der Oberlausitz nach 1084 unumstritten nachgewiesen ist, ist Sobieslav I. (1126–1140). Bereits im ersten Regierungsjahr hat dieser Herrscher die Burg *Zgorzelec an der Neiße wiederaufgebaut (lokalisiert auf dem sog. Burgberg, gegenwärtig im Bereich der Altstadt in Görlitz); Bauarbeiten an dieser Wehranlage wurden im Auftrag von Sobieslav 1131 wieder aufgenommen. Auf welche Weise Sobieslav zum Besitzer der Görlitzer Burg und der sie umgebenden kaiserlichen Dominien geworden ist, bleibt ungewiss. Annehmbar sind zwei Möglichkeiten: entweder hat er diese Gebiete als Nachfolger seines Bruders Vladislav I. in Besitz genommen (vgl. oben) oder hat er die Herrschaft über Neiße im Rahmen der mit dem König Lothar III. getroffenen Übereinkommen nach der sog. zweiten Schlacht bei Kulm (18 II 1126) erhalten. Die letztgenannte Möglichkeit scheint wahrscheinlicher zu sein, umso mehr, dass der damalige Besitzer von Milska, Graf Heinrich von Groitzsch, zwischen Sobieslav I. und Lothar III. vermittelte. Leider stützt sich keine der dargestellten Möglichkeiten auf unmittelbare Quellenbelege, deswegen ist jede von ihnen bei künftigen Forschungen in Betracht zu ziehen.

Der angeblichen, im 12. Jh. entstandenen Stiftungsurkunde des Kapitels in Stará Boleslav (CDB 1, Nr. 382) ist zu entnehmen, dass unter diesem Herrscher und in den Anfängen der Regierungszeit seines Nachfolgers, Vladislav II., ein separates *pagus Isgorelik* mit dem Zentrum in der oben erwähnten Görlitzer Burg vorhanden war. Diese vorübergehende Verwaltungseinheit könnte mit dem im späteren Zeitabschnitt (1143–1156) als Zagozd bekannten Territorium identisch sein, dass erstmals in der Urkunde Konrads III. vom November 1144 (MGH DK III, 119) erwähnt wurde. Den Kernbereich dieses Territoriums müssten dominiale königliche Güter gebildet haben, allerdings wie es aus dem Inhalt des angeführten Diploms hervorgeht, verfügte der Markgraf Konrad über gewisse Herrschaft über die im Neißegebiet gelegenen Güter der Meißner Bischöfe.

Die Herrschaft über dieses Gebiet übte zuerst Sobieslav I. aus, dann Vladislav II. und anschließend der Meißner Markgraf Konrad von Wettin in Anlehnung an die weitgehende

Übertragung der Befugnisse durch den Monarchen. Angesichts der geringen Zahl von Quellen ist lediglich bekannt, dass der Umfang dieser Übertragung das Recht auf die Verfügung über königliche Einkommen zugunsten der kirchlichen Institutionen (*casus* des Kapitels in Stará Boleslav) sowie die Kontrolle über die Erfüllung der von der Bevölkerung der bischöflichen Güter zu leistenden lokalen Pflichten in Bezug auf die Verteidigung der Grenzen (Wachdienst) umfasste. Der Fürst Sobieslav musste wohl zur Übertragung des Eigentumsrechts mancher königlicher Güter berechtigt gewesen sein. Auf die Spur derartiger Verordnungen kann man kommen, wenn man das Schicksal der bischöflichen Güter in *villa Goreliz* verfolgt, die höchstwahrscheinlich eben unter diesem Herrscher durch das Bistum, vermutlich gegen die Siedlungen im späteren sog. Eigenschen Kreis abgetreten worden sind.

Sicherlich in der Zeit der separaten Verwaltung der Ostoberlausitz, eventuell unmittelbar danach, aber zweifellos zu Beginn der Regierungszeit von Friedrich I. Barbarossa (1152–1157), war dieses Territorium in das sog. Tafelgüterverzeichnis des deutschen Königs als *Milza* einbezogen (Edition: Brühl, Kölzer 1979, 53, Taf. I, III; vgl. auch Kobuch 1996). Aber diese Erwähnung sollte nicht als ein Beleg dafür angesehen werden, dass die Ostoberlausitz Tafelgüter *sensu strictiori*, d.h. ein für den Unterhalt des deutschen Königs ausgesondertes Landgut bildete, und dies aus drei Gründen. Erstens weilten die Könige nur sehr selten in dieser Region, zweitens fehlen eindeutige Belege für die Existenz derartiger Güter im deutschen und italienischen Königreich unter den ersten Hohenstaufen und schließlich drittens: königliche Güter in der Ostoberlausitz wurden nicht direkt von dem Monarchen verwaltet.

Die Erwähnung des *Milza* in dem sog. Tafelgüterverzeichnis des deutschen Königs sollte lediglich als ein Zeugnis dafür interpretiert werden, dass Mitte des 12. Jh. auf diesem Gebiet immer noch alodiale Güter der deutschen Könige existierten, die wohl das ganze nicht den Meißner Bischöfen gehörende Territorium der Ostoberlausitz umfassten. Retrospektiver Beleg dafür sind die in zahlreichen Ortschaften dieser Region vorkommenden Pfefferzinse; im Buch wurde ihre tabellarische und kartografische Aufstellung in Anlehnung an die Untersuchungen von Joachim Huth, Walter Haupt, Manfred Kobuch und des Autors dargestellt.

Zusammenfassung

Ergebnisse der im Buch dargestellten Untersuchungen bieten ein Bild der Politik konkreter Herrschaftszentren gegenüber der Region, die ein am weitesten entferntes Peripheriegebiet ihrer Einflüsse war. In dem in diesem Beitrag behandelten Zeitraum stützte sich die Politik der nacheinander folgenden deutschen Könige gegenüber Oberlausitz zumeist auf die Übertragung der laufenden Verwaltung auf andere Subjekte: zuerst die abhängige slawische politische Organisation (der Milczanen), danach auf die nacheinander folgenden Markgrafen. Bis 1081 wurden die Rechtsrahmen dieser Übertragung der Befugnisse für ganz Milska durch politische Struktur des Kaiserreiches geschaffen, in Bezug auf die Ostoberlausitz durften

sich die deutschen Herrscher schon nach 1031 lediglich mit genereller Oberhoheit befriedigt haben, indem sie Ekkehard II. auf diesem Gebiet alodiales Dominium zu bilden erlaubten. Dank dem Heinrich III. nach Ekkehardinen zuteil gewordenen Erbe erschien in der Ostoberlausitz ein Komplex von dominialen königlichen Gütern, was aber nichts an der Richtlinie der Politik weiterer Herrscher, die die Ostrandgebiete ihres Staates als gewisse Vergütung für ihre Anhänger betrachteten, geändert hat. Der Höhepunkt dieser Praktiken fiel in die Jahre 1081-1112, als ganz Milska als Benefizium in Besitz zuerst Wratislavs II., und anschließend Wiprechts II. aus Groitzsch blieb.

Erst Heinrich V. begann an den Grundlagen seiner unmittelbaren Herrschaft in den 1081 von Meißen durch seinen Vater abgespalteten Regionen zu arbeiten, indem er zumindest in dem Land der Nizane eine spezielle Einrichtung für die Verwaltung königlicher Güter und mancher Befugnisse der Königsherrschaft in Form von Burggrafschaft in Dohna berief. Von ähnlichen Vorgehen dieses Monarchen gegenüber dem östlichen Milska ist nichts bekannt, allerdings wenn nicht unter Heinrich V. (vermutlich 1117), dann unter seinem Nachfolger Lothar III. (1126) ist ein solcher Eingriff gegenüber Ostoberlausitz vorgenommen worden: die Trennung dominialer Güter im Neißegebiet samt einem Teil der Hoheitsbefugnisse von dem restlichen Milska und ihre Übergabe in die Verwaltung an eine andere Person (den böhmischen Fürsten Vladislav I. oder Sobieslav I.). Auf diese Weise ist eine vorübergehende Verwaltungseinheit entstanden, genannt unter Sobieslav I. nach der Hauptburg Görlitzer Gau (*pagus Isgorelik*), und dann, unter Konrad I. von Wettin: Zagozd bezeichnet. Aus der Perspektive der Verwaltungspragmatik war aber dieses Territorium zu klein, um von einem besonderen königlichen Würdenträger verwaltet zu werden, im Zusammenhang damit fand sich Ostoberlausitz sogar in der Zeit intensivster Expansion der Institution der königlichen Burgrafschaft (Kastellanei) im Jahre 1156 nicht unter den Regionen, die eigene königliche Kastellanen bekommen hätten. Auf diese Weise ging die 30-jährige Episode der Unabhängigkeit der Verwaltung der Ostoberlausitz von dem übrigen Teil von Milska zu Ende.

Im Buch wurde eine Analyse von Maßnahmen der Machtausübung in Anlehnung an deren Einteilung in sofortige (Personalbesetzung der Posten der territorialen Verwaltung) und strukturelle (als formal-rechtliche Rahmen der Verwaltung) Maßnahmen durchgeführt. Ihr Ergebnis war die Feststellung, dass in dem größten Teil des in der Arbeit behandelten Zeitraumes aus der Perspektive der nacheinander folgenden Herrscher Deutschlands vor allem die sofortigen Maßnahmen von größter Bedeutung waren – in erster Linie die Übergabe der weit entfernten Provinzen an vertraute Personen zur Verwaltung. Als die stärkste Form der Anwendung derartiger Maßnahmen galt die Übergabe der Provinzen an Personen von außerhalb der engen Elite des Reiches (*homines novi*), was bezeichnenderweise bei strukturellen Herrschaftsmaßnahmen häufig zu präferentiellen Bedingungen geschah (die Übergabe des Territoriums als einfaches Benefizium und nicht als *comitatus*, Delegation von speziellen Befugnissen). Der erste die Oberlausitz verwaltende territoriale Herrscher, der in so bedeutendem Umfang derartige königliche Politik

(genau gesagt: Lothars III.) zum Aufbau seiner eigenen Herrschaft nutzte, war allerdings erst Sobieslav I. (1125–1140). Die Gegenaktion zur Stärkung der Herrschaft über die Oberlausitz unter Anwendung sowohl sofortiger als auch struktureller Maßnahmen erfolgte schon unter Konrad III. (1138–1152) sowie am Anfang der Herrschaftszeit von Friedrich I. (1152–1190). Ohne hier auf weitere Details einzugehen, die in diesbezüglichen Beitragsteilen zugänglich sind, kann der Schluss gezogen werden, dass sich in dem 2. und 3. Jahrzehnt des 12. Jh. die Einstellung sowohl der deutschen Monarchen als auch der territorialen Herrscher zur Ostoberlausitz geändert hat: dieses Gebiet galt nicht mehr als ein Peripheriebereich, Ballast, den man möglichst günstig loswerden wollte, es wurde eher begonnen, es als ein Ort zu betrachten, der den Aufbau eines Stützpunktes für starke Herrschaft ermöglichte. Unter Friedrich Barbarossa wird allerdings eine Rückkehr zur Politik verzeichnet, die die nacheinanderfolgenden deutschen Herrscher, bis Heinrich IV. einschließlich, betrieben haben: Übertragung der Herrschaftsbefugnisse auf dritte Personen. Zu Benefizienten dieser Politik sind Přemysliden geworden, die die Macht in Milska für weitere beinahe hundert Jahre übernommen haben.

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Shrnutí

Územní a chronologický rozsah zpracování

Prezentované studium je pokusem o ukázání politických a ústavních dějin malého regionu na území středovýchodní Evropy v raném a vrcholném středověku. Tímto regionem, kterým se toto zpracování bude podrobně zabývat, je Horní Lužice (lat. *Lusatia Superior*, něm. *Oberlausitz*), která se rozprostírá v povodí Lužické Nisy. Dolní chronologickou hranicí zpracování je období 2. pol. IX. – 1. pol. X. století., ze kterého pocházejí nejstarší psané a materiální prameny dokumentující život Slovanů bydlících podél horního povodí Lužické Nisy. Jako horní chronologická hranice byl přijat rok 1156, který byl v dějinách východní Horní Lužice ústavním zlomovým momentem. Organizační rámec správy tohoto regionu určovala od roku 1156 organizace purkrabství (kastelánská) a následně: budyšínské zemské fojstství. Předmětem tohoto studium je naopak období před založením v Horní Lužici úřadů kastelána a zemského fojta, tzn. nejprve období předstátních systémů („plemenných“) a následně správních systémů, které můžeme konvenčně nazvat – s odkazem na výsledky české a polské medievistiky – hradební soustavou.

Prameny a metodika práce

Základními prameny studium jsou psané a materiální prameny (archeologické). Zásoby zohledněných psaných pramenů pocházejících z pojednávaného v práci období obsahují narativní prameny (kroniky a ročníky) a také listinné prameny. Časový úsek, o kterém pojednává tato práce, nám objasňují velmi nerovnoměrně; z toho důvodu musela být rekonstrukce dějin východní Horní Lužice obohacena o interpretaci pozdějších pramenů, mezi jinými tzv. Hornolužické hraniční listiny z roku 1241 (CDB 4/1, nr 4).

Obraz, který lze získat z analýzy psaných pramenů, byl rozšířen o archeologické prameny. Je to založeno na skutečnosti, že i navzdory nedostatečné situaci v archeologických výzkumech nelze očekávat, s ohledem na tuto kategorii zdrojů, výrazné zlepšení stavu výzkumu, což z pohledu historických výzkumů – vyžadujících od archeologie přesné datování a pokud možno jednoznačné závěry – může nastat za několik desítek let nebo nemusí nastat nikdy. Zohlednění archeologických pramenů umožnilo nastínění obrazu organizace vlády a správy pro nejméně popsané období v psaných pramenech, tzn. plemenné období.

Tematický rozsah knížky

Hlavní problémy pojednávané v prezentovaném studium se týkají otázek organizace vlády a správy na úrovni regionu (Milsko) a subregionu (východní Horní Lužice). Pro správnou analýzu těchto problémů bylo nezbytné zaměřit se na politické

dějiny celého Milska ve zmiňovaném období a v některých částech je sepsat od začátku. Toto předsevzetí, i navzdory dříve neznámým chybějícím narativním a listinným pramenům, bylo možné díky zohlednění archeologických údajů, geopolitického kontextu události, retrospektivního uvažování a prodiskutování určitých axiomů, které byly do té doby automaticky přijímány ve výzkumech dějin Horní Lužice (např. apriorický předpoklad, že Milsko v letech 1031-1081 bylo integrální částí Míšenské marky). Vycházelo se z metodiky zpracované polskými historiky raného středověku a také z určitých tezí prezentovaných německými badateli (mimo jinými R. Kötzschke, H. Ludat, J. Huth, W. Schlesinger), které dodnes nenašly náležitý obraz v existujících vizích raných dějin Horní Lužice. Díky představenému přístupu se povedlo mezi jinými upřesnit datum dobytí Běžunčan Milčany (na léta 936-950), označit prozatím neznámé období správní samostatnosti Milska v Míšni jako samostatného *comitatus* (1031-1034), zavést do dějin Horních Lužic v XI. století období vlády grafa Dedo II. z Wettinu (1046-1069), popřít koncepci Richarda Jechta (1930) o rozdělení Horní Lužice na začátku 80. let XI století a obhájit uvedené w *Annales Pegavienses* datum restituce Milska Wiprechtovi II Grojčskému (1117).

Druhou skupinou otázek z rozsahu politické historie pojednávaných v prezentovaném zpracování jsou historicko-právní otázky. Předmětem analýzy v dalších částech zpracování bude otázka právního stavu celého Milska a východní Horní Lužice v rámci větší politické struktury, jejíž součástí byly tyto země, především západní Říše a její marky. Z úvahy na dostupné základní prameny, měla argumentace v této látce často nahodilý charakter a byla založena na retrospekci před účinky jednotlivých právních úkonů k jejich formální kvalifikaci. Zdá se, že tato metoda je dosti riskantní, nicméně po dřívějším zpracování hlavních problémů z politické historie – nerozlučně spojenými s právními otázkami – a při vážném zvážení dříve opomíjených předpokladů vycházejících z pramenů, umožňuje získání hodnotných závěrů. Za nejdůležitější výsledky tohoto studium v tomto rozsahu je třeba uznat pravděpodobně určení původu královského majetku na území východní Horní Lužice (viz níže a podkapitola 5.6) a rozhodnutí v otázce právního stavu Milska v letech 1081–1112 (viz níže a podkapitola 4.3).

Třetí skupinou problémů pojednávaných v tomto zpracování jsou otázky spojené s lokální infrastrukturou vlády a správy na příkladu východní Horní Lužice. V celém období pojednávaném v práci byla základním prvkem hradiště. S ohledem na hustotu zbylých hradišť se Horní Lužice umisťují bezpochybně na jednom z prvních míst v měřítku celého území obývaného západními Slovy, při čemž – což se můžeme domnívat z dostupných archeologických údajů – většina hradišť východní Horní Lužice byla aktivní v X. století, resp. také na začátku XI. století. Bližší chronologické rozvrstvení obranných hradeb není možné vzhledem ke stavu jejich prozkoumání a nedostatečnému odůvodnění datování jednotlivých objektů (co se týče detailů v katalogu stanovišť) v jednotlivých pramenech. Vzhledem k

tomu se výsledky zde prezentovaného studium o hradištích – s výjimkou otázek týkajících se hradištních obvodů (burgward), kde k archeologickým podmínkám lze přidat také ty historické – omezují na pracovní hypotézy, které jsou spíše postuláty pro budoucí výzkumy než konečnými závěry.

Analýza elementů lokální infrastruktury vlády a správy zahrnovala kromě hradišť také nemateriální jevy v podobě pozůstatostí po dávných správních jednotkách: světských (hradištní obvody, tzv. burgwardy) a kostelních (tzv. protofarnosti). K rekonstrukci hradištních obvodů byla vypracovaná metodika podle Gerharda Billiga (1989). Při reprodukci protofarních obvodů se vycházelo ze studií Carla Gotthelfa Theodora Neumanna, Joachmia Hutha, Waltera Haupta a vlastního archívu autora; základem jejich rekonstrukce byly informace o desetinných závazcích jednotlivých obcí, které odrážejí nejstarší dosažitelné obvody farnosti kostelů v Jauernick a Niedově.

Hlavní teze práce: předstátní období (kapitola 2)

Na počátku svých středověkých dějin východní Horní Lužice – podle Krzysztofa Jaworského (2005) územně se pokrývající s tzv. lužickým seskupením sudetských hradišť – byla z politického hlediska samostatnou oblastí. Místní Slované tvořili etnopolitickou organizaci známou jako Běžunčané. Politická situace ve východní Horní Lužici se diametrálně změnila, když tuto zemi ovládli sousední Milčané. V kapitole 2 byla vynaložena snaha o ukázání, že v X. století Milčané patřili k dobře zorganizovaným plemenům a aktivně se účastnili euroasijského dalekosáhlého obchodu. Díky tomu, mimo existující do roku 932 tributární závislosti na saských Liudolfindzích, byli Milčané schopni dlouho udržet politickou autonomii a zahájit expanzi na východ. Pozadí této expanze bylo pravděpodobně tvořeno rivalitou Ota I a Boleslava I, knížetem Prahy, v letech 936-950 a s určitostí v tomto období došlo k dobytí Běžunčan Milčany.

Toto dobytí vedlo k hromadným únosům místních občanů a jejich nevolnictví, nicméně na dlouho přerušilo politickou samostatnost východní Horní Lužice, a učinilo z nich marginální subregion v rámci většího celku: Milska, neboli země Milčan. S obdobím vlády Milčan nad Lužickou Nisou můžeme spojovat značnou část existujících v tomto regionu raně středověkých hradišť, v tom dvoučlenné hradiště na hoře Landeskrona, nicméně ověření těchto hypotéz může přijít teprve s novými archeologickými výzkumy. Nedostatečný stav archeologických výzkumů má také za důsledek, že diskutovat o lokálních strukturách existující vlády na území Východní Horní Lužice v předstátním období je obtížné. Můžeme jediné diskutovat o dvou *civitates* zmíněných v tzv. Bavorském geografu jako patřící Běžunčanům, jedno můžeme ztotožnit se stanovištěm č. 1 v Niedově, a druhé můžeme hledat v severozápadní části pojednávaného regionu.

Hlavní teze práce: 987–1081

Politickou autonomii Milčan ukončilo její připojení k marce Ekkeharda I. se střediskem v Mišně, zajisté krátce po roce 987 V letech 1002–1018 se Milsko stalo předmětem rivality sousedních panovníků: Jindřicha II. a Boleslava I. Chrabrého. Přes cele toto období dávná politická organizace Milčan byla vnímána jako samostatné území, nazývané také markou. V letech 1004–1007 bylo Milsko spravované ve jménu Henryka II přes samostatného palatína, titulovaného také markrabětem (*marchio*), v osobě Hermana I., staršího syna Ekkeharda I. Lokální organizace vlády a správy byla založena, podobně jako v jiných polabských regionech dobytých Sasy, na hradištních obvodech, tzv. burgwardech. Navzdory všeobecnému názoru utvrzenému díky studium Gerharda Billiga (1989), tento systém zahrnoval pravděpodobně nejenom „původní“ Milsko, ale také jeho východní okraje.

Rekonstrukce sítě burgwardů východní Horní Lužice je o to těžší, že v roce 1015 se zde odehrála katastrofa, která diametrálně změnila průběh dějin v tomto regionu. Mluvíme zde o výpravě českého knížete Udalryka, známého z kroniky Dětmara z Merseburga, která byla ukončena získáním hradiště *Businc* a deportací značné části obyvatelstva z jeho okolí. V této práci, na základě retrospektivní analýzy historických, historicko-osadnických a archeologických údajů podle metodiky zpracované Gerhardem Billigem (1989) se povedlo určit dvě hradiště, které byly pravděpodobně středisky burgward: opevněné objekty na Landeskrone a v Niedově. Lze také zvážit existenci třetího hradištního obvodu v Žitavské pánvi, ale aktuální stav archeologických výzkumů znemožňuje jednoznačnou odpověď v této látce, protože tamější obyvatelstvo není dostatečně prozkoumané a datované. Ze seznamu hradištních obvodů východní Horní Lužice naopak můžeme vyškrtnout domnělý burgward se střediskem na hradišti v Bratkově a vyloučit jeho identifikaci se zmíněnou v roce 1007 *castellum Ostrusna*, a to ze dvou důvodů. Za prvé, hradištní obvod *Ostrusna* musel být umístěn v západní části Milska, a to v blízkosti dvou zbylých obvodů zmíněných ve stejném dokumentu (*Trebista* a *Godobi*). Za druhé, podle tzv. Hornolužické hraniční listiny z roku 1241 (CDB 4/1, nr 4) a jiných pramenů z XIII. století., byl region Bratkova umístěn mimo hranice biskupského majetku, v jeho obvodu se ale nacházelo hradiště v Niedově.

V letech 1018–1031 v Milsku vládli Piastovci: postupně Boleslav I Chrabrý a Měško II; nedostatek pramenů znemožňuje určení přesného průběhu dějin pojednávaného regionu v tomto období. V roce 1031 Milskem zavládl Konrad II a vrátil této zemi status příhraničního obvodu Království Německa. V tomto zpracování byla vynaložena snaha dokázat, že správa Milska byla tehdy svěřena samostatnému palatínovi v osobě Ekkeharda II. V letech 1031–1034 se Milsko opětovně stalo samostatnou markou; následně (1034) bylo spojeno s Východní markou (Lužickou) a Mišenskou markou (1038), ale do konce panování Ekkeharda II bylo vnímáno jako samostatný element celého dominium Ekkehardů, nazvaného markou. Tento status neudrželo po roce 1046 – když jiné marky vkráčely na cestu institucionalizace – a stala se pouze

jednou z příhraničních zemí patřící sousedním *comitatus*. Jak byla vynaložena snaha vykázat v podkapitole 3.2.2, navzdory všeobecnému v historiografii postoji, Milsko nesdílelo v roce 1046 osud Míšenské marky, ale spolu s Východní markou (Lužickou) bylo předáno do správy Dedo II. z Wettinu. Teprve převrat toho posledního v roce 1069 způsobil odebrání mu Milska a předání ho pod panování Egberta II, markraběte Míšně.

Návrat Milska pod německé panování v roce 1031 a změna strategických priorit ve východní politice Říše – místo Piastovců hlavním protivníkem Konrada II. a Jindřicha III. se stal český kníže Břetislav I. – měly obrovský vliv na další osudy východní Horní Lužice. Z těchto nepřímých předpokladů lze vyvodit, že Ekkehard II. – zajisté spolu s obdržením královské plné moci a příslušnými informacemi – zacházel s těmito vylidněnými zeměmi jako částí svého alodiálního dominium. Pravděpodobně právě Ekkehard II zorganizoval na území východních Horní Lužice předmostí politické a militární přítomnosti Království Německa a předal dávný niedowský hradištní obvod míšenskému biskupství. Do období konfrontace Království Německa s Královstvím Čech ve 40. letech XI. století můžeme také umístit začátek období intenzivního využití hradiště v Bratkově nebo usazení ve východní Horní Lužici rytířů obdařených beneficiem v podobě zemských nadání. Z důvodu chybějících pramenů nemůžeme úplně vyloučit, že část zde představených aktivit činili již dědicové zemřelého v roce 1046 Ekkeharda II v osobách králů ze salické dynastie (Jindřicha III. a Jindřicha IV.). Pod jejich panováním sekulární majetky na území východní Horní Lužice zachovaly status alodiálního majetku – s tím, že patřícímu monarchům – rozdělených na beneficia; generální svrchovanost nad nimi (zajisté hlavně v militárním aspektu) zachovali při tom panující dále nad Milskem markraběti.

Hlavní teze práce: 1081–1126

Nové období v dějinách celé Horní Lužice bylo zahájeno jejich převodem do vlastnictví českého knížete Vratislava II. Událost ta měla místo pravděpodobně v roce 1081 a byla následkem dělení dosavadní marky Egberta II z rukou Jindřicha II, který zachoval vládu v Míšni, ale zřekl se ve prospěch Vratislava Milska a země Nižan (nad Labem). Už v roce 1084 Vratislav odstoupil obě země Wiprechtovi II Grojčskému titulem věna své dcery Judity. Je spornou otázkou, na jakých právech Milsko a zemi Nižan vlastnili nejprve Vratislav a poté Wiprecht. Z analýzy provedené v podkapitole 4.3 vyplývá, že pravděpodobně v roce 1081 obě území obdržel Vratislav jako beneficium od Jindřicha IV. a jejich převod Wiprechtovi se uskutečnil v souladu s pravidly lenné substituce; navzdory názorům a domněnkám objevujících se v historickém písemnictví se neuskutečnila subinfeudace.

V historiografii je rozšířená teze Richarda Jechta (1930) o tom, že již v roce 1081 východní Horní Lužice byla oddělena od zbylé části Milska. Opětovná analýza argumentace Jechta ukázala, že hypotéza ta není opodstatněná; pokud rozdělení Milska na východní část (východní Horní Lužice) a středozápadní část (pozdější

budyšínská země) se vůbec uskutečnilo za panování Jindřicha IV., spíše to bylo v roce 1084, v němž se uskutečnilo vyčlenění věna Juditě, která se tehdy vdávala za Wiprechta Grojčského. Myšlenka rozdělení Milska v roce 1084 je spíše také nereálná; takové rozdělení by z pohledu panovníků Prahy bylo prostě nepraktické. Mělo by se v tomto kontextu také zdůraznit, že nejsou zaznamenány jakékoliv stopy organizačních aktivit Přemyslovců na území východní Horní Lužice v letech 1081–1126; takovou stopou nemusí být založení kostela sv. Václava (dynastického svatého patrona Přemyslovců) v Jauernick, které mohlo být provedeno českou Juditou, jejím manželem Wiprechtem nebo synem Henrykem.

První moment, kdy mohlo být provedeno organizační rozdělení „původního” Milska podél Budišína a jeho východních území ležících v povodí Nisy, byl rok 1112, když se oba území, které obdržel Wiprecht II titulem věna manželky, našla pod přímým panováním krále Jindřicha V. Ve vztahu k zemi Nižan měla tato změna politické situace za důsledek vznik trvalého předmostí, institucionalizovaného přítomností císařské vlády v podobě *Burggrafschaftu* Dohna. V pramenech chybí jednoznačné údaje o podobné reorganizaci provedené na území pozdější Horní Lužice, a tak se lze domnívat, že stav dominiálního císařského majetku na území východní části této krajiny se neměnil (tj. tyto majetky zůstaly pod správou aktuálního držitele Milska). V úvahu je ale třeba vzít možnost, že monarchistické majetky na území východní Horní Lužice již v roce 1117. – ve chvíli částečné restituce majetku Wiprechtovi II – se našly, podobně jak *Burggrafschaft* Dohna, pod správou českého knížete Vladislava I.

Hlavní teze práce: 1126–1156

První český kníže, jehož panování v Horní Lužici je po roce 1084 nesporně potvrzeno, byl Soběslav I (1126–1140). Již v prvním roce své vlády tento panovník opětovně postavil hrad *Zhořelec nad Nisou (umístěný na tzv. Zámečném pohoří, *Burgberg*, aktuálně v hranicích Starého Města v Görlitz); opětovné stavební práce při tomto objektu byly na příkaz Soběslava zahájeny v 1131 r. Neznámo, jak se Soběslav stal držitelem zhořeleckého hradiště a obklopujících ho císařských dominií. Přípustné jsou dvě možnosti: buď zavládl územím jako následník bratra, Vladislava I (srov. výše), nebo obdržel vládu nad Nisou v rámci dohody uzavřené s králem Lotarem III po tzv. druhé bitvě pod Chlumcem (18 II 1126). Ta poslední možnost se zdá být pravděpodobnější, tím více, že zprostředkovatelem mezi Soběslavem I a Lotarem III byl tehdejší držitel Milska, graf Henryk Grojčský. Bohužel, žádná z ukázaných možností není založena na přímých svědectvích potvrzených v pramenech, a v souvislosti s tím je třeba při dalších výzkumech vzít v potaz každou z nich.

Díky domnělému fundačnímu dokumentu kapituly ve Staré Boleslavi, vzniklému v XII. století. (CDB 1, 382) je známo, že za vlády tohoto panovníka a na začátku panování jeho následníka, Vladislava II., existoval samostatný *pagus Isgorelik* se střediskem ve zmíněném zhořeleckém hradišti. Ta efemerická správní jednotka byla pravděpodobně totožná s územím známým v pozdějším období (1143–1156)

jako Zagozd, zmíněném poprvé v listině Konrada III. z listopadu 1144 r. (MGH DK III 119). Jádrem tohoto území musely být dominiální monarchistické majetky, avšak jak vyplývá z obsahu zmíněného diplomu, markrabě Konrad spravoval také částečně vládu nad majetky míšenských biskupů ležícími v povodí Nisy.

Vládu nad tímto územím spravoval nejprve Soběslav I., poté Vladislav II. a následně markrabě Míšeň Konrad z Wettinu s využitím široké delegace pravomocí ze strany monarchie. Vzhledem k malému počtu dostupných pramenů víme pouze, že rozsah této delegace zahrnoval právo ke správě nad monaršími příjmy ve prospěch kostelních institucí (*casus kapituly* ve Staré Boleslavi) a kontrolu nad výkonem lokálních povinností obyvatelů biskupských majetků spojených s ochranou hranic (strážce). Kniže Soběslav byl také nejspíše zplnomocněn k převodu vlastnického práva některých monarších majetků. Na stopu tohoto druhu dispozice lze přijít při zkoumání osudu biskupských majetků ve *villa Goreliz*, které pravděpodobně právě za tohoto panovníka byly odstoupeny biskupstvím, zajisté výměnou za osady umístěné na území pozdějšího Eigensche Kreis.

Zajisté v období správní samostatnosti východní Horní Lužice nebo přímo po jejím ukončení, bez pochyby na začátku vlády Fridricha I. Barbarossy (1152–1157), bylo území zmíněné jako *Milza* v tzv. výkazu stolních majetků německého krále (úprava: Brühl, Kölzer 1979, 53, Taf. I, III; srov. také Kobuch 1996). Je málo pravděpodobné, by tuto zmínku bylo možné vnímat jako svědectví, že východní Horní Lužice byla stolním majetkem *sensu strictiori*, tj. majetkem vyčleněným pro účel udržování německého krále, ze třech důvodů. Za prvé, králové velice zřídka pobývali v těchto místech, za druhé, chybí jednoznačná svědectví, že majetky tohoto druhu fungovaly v královstvích Německa a Itálie v období prvních Hohenstaufů, konečně za třetí: královské majetky ve východní Horní Lužici nebyly pod přímým panováním monarchie.

Zmínku o *Milza* v tzv. výkazu stolních majetků krále německého je třeba interpretovat jedinečně jako důkaz na to, že v polovině XII. Století na tomto území dále existovaly alodiální majetky německých králů zahrnující zajisté nepatřící míšenským biskupům celé území východní Horní Lužice. Retrospektivním osvědčením tohoto stavu věci jsou pepřové nájmy, vyskytující se v početných obcích tohoto regionu; v knížce byly představeny jejich tabulkové a kartografické shrnutí na základě výzkumu Joachima Hutha, Waltera Haupta, Manfreda Kobucha a vlastního výzkumu autora.

Závěr

Výsledky výzkumů ukázaných v knížce se skládají na obraz politiky konkrétních středisek vlády vzhledem k regionu, který byl nejvzdálenějším územím jejich vlivu. Přes většinu období pojednávaného v tomto zpracování byla politika dalších německých králů vzhledem k Horní Lužici založena na delegaci průběžné správy jiným subjektům: nejprve závislé slovanské politické organizaci (Milčan), následně dalším markrabatům. Do roku 1081 byly právní hranice takové delegace pravomocí v měřítku celého Milska určeny politickou strukturou Říše, avšak vzhledem k východní

Horní Lužici se zajisté již po roce 1031 němečtí panovníci uspokojili pouze generální svrchovaností a umožnili Ekkehardovi II. vytvoření na tomto území alodiálního dominium. Přejetí dědictví po Ekkehardách Jindřichem III. mělo za následek, že se na území východní Horní Lužice objevil komplex dominiálních královských majetků, avšak nezměnilo to obecnou politickou linii dalších panovníků, kteří s východními okraji svého státu zacházeli jako s odměnou pro své zastánce. Apogee této činnosti mělo vrchol v letech 1081–1112, kdy celé Milsko jako beneficium zůstávalo v držení nejprve Vratislava II. a následně Wiprechta II. Grojčského.

Teprve Henryk V. začal pracovat nad vytvořením základů svého přímého panování v regionech otržených v 1081 r. od Míšně jeho otcem, přinejmenším v zemi Nižan a tímto vytvořil samostatnou správní jednotku nad monarchistickým majetkem a některými pravomocemi nadřízené vlády v podobě *Burggrafschaftu* v Dohna. Není známo nic o podobných předsevzetích tohoto monarchy týkajících se východní části Milska; avšak pokud ne za Jindřicha V. (zajisté v roce 1117), tak za jeho následníka Lotara III. (1126) velmi podobný zásah – oddělení dominiálního majetku v povodí Nisy spolu s podobnými pravomocemi od zbytku Milska a jejich převedení do správy jiné osoby (českého knížete: Vladislava I. nebo Soběslava I.) – byl proveden ve vztahu k východní Horní Lužici. Tímto způsobem vznikla nová, efemerická správní jednotka, pod panováním Soběslava I. zvaná od hlavního hradiště zhořeleckým obvodem (*pagus Isgorelik*), a následně, pod panováním Konrada I. z Wettinu: Zagozdem. Z pohledu pragmatiky správy území to bylo však příliš málo, aby ho spravoval samostatný královský důstojník, v souvislosti s tím dokonce v období největší expanze institucí královského *Burggrafschaftu* (kastelánií) se v roce 1156 východní Horní Lužice nevyskytla v řadě zemí, které obdržely vlastní královské kastelány. Tímto skončila třicetiletá epizoda správní samostatnosti východní Horní Lužice od zbylé části Milska.

V knížce byla provedena analýza prostředků sloužících k panování na základě jejich rozdělení na dočasné (např. personální obsazení pozic územní samosprávy) a strukturální (určující formálně-právní meze správy). Jejím výsledkem je stvrzení, že přes větší část pojednáváného v práci období byly z hlediska dalších panovníků Německa dočasné prostředky – především svěřování odlehlých provincií do správy důvěrným osobám. Nejsilnější formou použití prostředku tohoto druhu bylo předání provincie osobám pocházejícím vně nejužších elit Říše (*homines novi*), jenž, což je příhodné, často probíhalo dle výhodných podmínek, pokud se jedná o strukturální prostředky panování (předávání území jako obyčejné beneficium, a ne jako *comitatus*, udělování speciálních oprávnění). Prvním územním panovníkem, který panoval v Horních Lužicích a ve větší míře využíval takovou královskou politiku (konkrétně: Lotara III.) za účelem umocnit vlastní panování, byl teprve Soběslav I. (1125–1140). Královská protiakce za účelem umocnění panování nad Horními Lužicemi s použitím zároveň dočasných, jak rovněž strukturálních prostředků, proběhla již za Konrada III. (1138–1152) a na začátku panování Fridricha I. (1152–1190). Bez přihlédnutí k detailům, které se nachází v jednotlivých částech práce, lze vyvodit závěr, že ve druhém a třetím desetiletí XII století se změnilo vnímání východní Horní Lužice

zároveň ze strany německých monarchů, a také územních panovníků: místo jako příhraniční země, tvořící přítěž, které je třeba se vhodně zbavit, oblast ta začala být vnímána jako možnost postavení předmostí silného panování. Za vlády Fridricha I. Barbarossy nastal návrat k politice, kterou využívali vzhledem k celému Milska další němečtí vládci až s Jindřicha IV. včetně: delegace vládních pravomocí třetím osobám. Beneficienty této politiky byli Přemyslovci, kteří začali panovat nad Milskem dalších skoro 100 let.

Překlad: Michal Kulhánek

Přehlad wobsaha

Teritorialny a chronologiski wobłuk džěła

Předstajena studija je pospyt pokazanja politiskich a towaršnostnych stawiznow maleho regiona w Srjedžno-wuchodnej Europje w zažnym a połnym srjedžowěku. Wosebity zajimowy předmjet knihi je Hornja Łužica (łać.: *Lusatia Superior*, něm.: *Oberlausitz*). Delnju chronologisku cezuru džěła tworí doba druheje połojcy 9. do přenjeje połojcy 10. lětsotka, do kotrejež slušeja najstarše pisomne a materialne žórła, kotrež dokumentuja žiwjenje Słowjanow, bydlacych w hornim rěčnym rumje Sprjewy a Łužiskeje Nysy. Jako hornja chronologiska hranica je so lěto 1156 postajiło, kotrež tworí w stawiznach Wuchodnje Hornjeje Łužicy towaršnostnu cezuru. Organizaciski wobrub zarjadnistwa toho regiona tworješe wot lěta 1156 organizacija hrodowych hrabinstwow a pozdžišo budyske krajne bohotstwo. Předmjet tudyšeje studije je pak doba před powołanjom zarjadnistwow hrodowych hrabinstwow a krajneho bohota w Hornjeje Łužicy, to rěka najprjedy doba předstatnych porjadow („kmjenowych“) a potom zarjadniskich systemow, kotrež nawjazujo na džěła pólskeje a českeje medijewistiki móžemy powšitkownje hrodowu organizaciju mjenować.

Žórłowe zakłady a džěłowa metodika

Žórłowy zakład studije tworja pisomne a materialne (archeologiske) žórła. Naběrk zapřijatych pisomnych žórłow z w džěle wobjednaneje doby wobjimuje powědane (chroniki a protyki) a dokumentowe žórła. Wone wobswětluja w tudyšim džěle wobjednany časowy wotrězk na njestajne wašnje; tohodla běše trěbne, rekonstrukciju stawiznow Hornjeje Łužicy w tej dobje wobohaćić z retrogresiwnym zapřijećom wuměnjenjow, kotrež pochadžeja z pozdžišich žórłow, mj. dr. z tak mjenowaneho Hornjołužiskeho hraničneho wopisma z lěta 1241 (CDB 4/1, nr 4).

Wobraz, kotryž da so z analyzy pisomnych žórłow dobyć, je so ze zepřijećom archeologiskich materialijow rozšěrilo. Při tym je so wuchadźało ze załoženja, zo njedžiwajcy njedosahaceho stawa archeologiskich slědženjow njeje móžno, zo so ze zapřijećom teje družiny žórłow na wurazne polěpšenje stawa slědženja čaka. Z perspektiwy stawizniskich slědženjow, kotrež sej wot archeologije dokładne datowanja a po móžnosći jednozmyslnje wuslědky žadaja, móže so to za někotre dźesatki lět stać abo docyla nic. Zapřijeće archeologiskich žórłow je zmóžniło pospyt rysowanja wobrazu organizacije knjejstwa a zarjadnistwa za najslabšo přez pisomne žórła wobswětlenju dobu, to rěka tak mjenowanu kmjenowu dobu.

Tematiski wobłuk knihi

W předležacej studiji wobjednane hłowne problemy su prašenja organizacije knjejstwa a zarjadnistwa na runinje regiona (Milsko) a subregiona (Wuchodna Hornja Łužica).

Zo by možno bylo, te problémy dokladnje analyzować, běše trěbne, so zasadnje z politiskimi stawiznami cyłego Milska we wobjednanej dobie zaběrać, a w někotrych dźělach je prosće nowo napisać. Tute předewzaće běše najebać pobrachowanja přjedy njeznatych powědanych abo dokumentowych žórłow móžne přez zapřijeće archeologiskich datow, geopolitiskeho konteksta podawkow, retrospektiwneho scěhowanja a diskutowanje wěstych aksiomow, kotrež so w slědženjach nad stawiznami Hornjeje Łužicy dotal chětro awtomatisce přijimachu (na př. aprioriske załoženje, zo je Milsko w lětach 1031–1081 integralny dźěl Mišnjanskeje marki bylo). Při tym je so zepěrało wo metodiku, kotruž su pólscy stawiznarjo zažneho srjedźowěka wudžěłali, a tohorunja na wěstych, wot němskich slědžerjow (mj. dr. R. Kötzschke, H. Ludat, J. Huth, W. Schlesinger) předstajenych tezach, kotrež dotal njenamakachu trěbny wotblyšč we wobstajacych nahladach wo zažnych stawiznach Hornjeje Łužicy. Na zakładze tajkeho postupowanja poradzi so mj. dr., datowanje podčisnjenja Bjezuńčanow přez Milčanow sprecizować (na lěta 936–950), dotal njeznatu dobu zarjadniskeje samostatnosće Milska wot Mišna jako wosebity *comitatus* (1031–1034) dopokazać, do stawiznow Hornjeje Łužicy w 11. lětstotku dobu knježenja hrabje Dedija II. Wettinskeho (1046–1069) zawjesć, koncepciju Richarda Jechta (1930) wotpokazać, kotraž nastupa dźělenje Hornjeje Łužicy na spočatku 80-tych lět 11. lětstotka, a w *Annales Pegavienses* podaty datum restitucije Milska Wiprechtaj II. z Grodžišća (Groitzsch) (1117) potwierdźić.

Druhu po problemach z wobłuka politiskich stawiznow w předstajenym dźěle wobjednanu skupinu problemow tworja historisko-prawne prašenja. Předmjet analyzy w přichodnych kapitlach dźěla je problem prawneho statusa cyłego Milska a Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy we wobłuku wjetšich politiskich strukturow, do kotrychž so te krajiny zarjadowachu, wosebje zapadneho kejžorstwa a jeho Markow. Džiwojo na přistupne žórłowe podkłady měješe scěhowanje husto charakter indicijow, zepěrajo so na retrospekciju wuskutkow jednotliwych prawnych aktow hač k jich formalnej kwalifikaciji. Hačrunjež zda so ta metoda riskantna być, dowola wona tola po přjedyšim wobdžělanju hłownych problemow politiskich stawiznow, kiž su njedžělnje z prawnymi prašenjemi zwjazane, a při chutnym pojimanju do toho lochkowaženych žórłowych wuměnjow, hódnótne postajenja dobyć. Jako najwažniši wuslědk předležaceje studije w tym wobłuku dyrbi so najskeje postajenje genezy kralowskich kubłow w krajinje Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy připóznać (hlej deleka tež podkapitl 5.6) a rozsud w prašenju prawniskeho statusa Milska w lětach 1081–1112 (hlej deleka podkapitl 4.3).

Třeću skupinu w tudyšim dźěle wobjednaných problemow tworja z lokalnej infrastrukturu knježerstwa a zarjadnistwa w krajinje Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy zwjazane prašenja. W cyłej w dźěle wobjednaej dobie tworjachu hrody zakładny element infrastruktury. Hladajo na koncentraciju powostankow hrodow (t.r. hrodžišćow) zaběra Hornja Łužica bjez dwěla jedne z přěnich městnow w cyłym zapadnym słowjanstwe, při čimž na zakładze přistupnych archeologiskich datow wjetšina hrodžišćow Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy swoju funkciju w 10. lětstotku

pjelnješe, snadź tež hišće na spočatku 11. lětstotka. Dokładniše chronologiske rozradowanje wobaranskich załožkow njeje móžne, džiwojo na staw jich přeslědženja a njespokojace žórłowe wopodstatnjenje datowanow jednotliwych objektow (nadrobnosće k tomu w katalogu městnosćow). W zwisku z tym su wuslědky nastupajo hrodow w předstajenej studiji, bjez zapřijeća prašenja hrodowych wobwodow (Burgward), hdžež hodža so k archeologiskim wuměnjam historiske dodać, na džěłowe hypotezy wobmjezowane, kotrež su skerje postulaty za přichodne slědženja hač doskónčne wuslědky.

Nimo hrodžišćow wobjimuje analiza elementow infrastruktury knjejstwa a zarjadnistwa tež njematerialne zjawy we formjeslědowněhdyšich swětnych (hrodowe wobwody, tak mjenowane hrodownistwa) a cyrkwinskih (t. mj. protoparafije) zarjadniskich jednotkow. Za rekonstrukciju hrodowych wobwodow je so wot Gerharda Billiga (1989) wudžěłana metodika nałožowała. Při rekonstrukciji protoparafijalnych wobwodow su so džěła Carla Gotthelfa Theodora Neumanna, Joachima Hutha, Waltera Haupta a swójske archiwariske naprašowanja autora wužiwal. Zakład jich rekonstrukcije běchu informacije wo dźesatkowych winowatosćach jednotliwych městnosćow, kotrež wotblyšćuja najstarše docpějomne rozpołoženja cyrkwinskih parafijow w Jaworniku a Niedowje.

Hłowne tezy džěła: Předstatna doba (kapitlej 2)

Na spočatku svojich srjedžowěkowych stawiznow tworješe Wuchodna Hornja Łužica, teritorialnje identiska z t.mj. lužiskim hromadženstwom sudetskich hrodžišćow po Krzysztofe Jaworskim (2005), politisce samostatny teritorij. Lokalni Słowjenojo tworjachu etnopolitisku organizaciju, znatu jako Bjezuńčenjo. Polistiske połoženje na wuchodnej Hornjej Łužicy změni so diametralnje, hdyž wobsadźichu krajinu susodni Milčenjo. W kapitlu 2 spytuje so dopokazać, zo słušachu Milčenjo w 10. lětstotku k derje organizowanym kmjenam a wobdžělowachu so aktiwnje na euroaziatiskim dalokosahacym wikowanju. Džakowano tomu zamóžachu sej Milčenjo, njedžiwajcy wot lěta 932 wobstejaceje tributneje wotwisnosće wot saskich Ludolfingow, dołho swoju politisku autonomiju wobchowac a na wuchod ekspandować. Prawdžepodobnje běše pozadk teje ekspansije riwalizacija Otta I. z Bolesławom I., wjerchom Pragi, w lětach 936–950, a zawěšće dóńdže runje w tym času k přewinjenju Bjezuńčanow přez Milčanow.

Tute přewinjenje njewjedžeše k masowemu wotwjedženju lokalneje ludnosće do njewólnistwa, ale přetorhny na dołhi čas politisku samostatnosć Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy, z kotrejež nasta nakromny subregion we wobłuku wjetšeho cyłka: Milska, to rěka krajiny Milčanow. Z časom knježenja Milčanow nad Łužiskej Nysu dyrbi so najskejše wulki džěl w tym subregionje wobstejacych zažnosrjedžowěkowych hrodžišćow wjazać, w tym dwučlonowske załoženje na horje Bubniku, ale wopodstatnjenje tych měnjenjow móžeja jeničce nowe archeologiske slědženja přinjesć. Njedosačacy staw archeologiskich slědženjow wuskutkuje tež, zo je čězko, so z wěstosću wuprajić k

tematice wobstějacych w krajinje Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy lokalnych strukturow knjejstwa w předstatnej dobje. Hodži so jenož na to pokazać, zo mjez dwěmaj w t. mj. *Bayerskim Geografie* naspomnjenymaj *civitas* dyrbi so jedna zawěsće identifikować ze stojnišćom nr. 1 w Niedowje, druha pak dyrbi so pytać w dołhowječornym džělu wobjednaneho regiona.

Hłowne tezy džěla: 987–1081

Politisku autonomiju Milčanow skónči jich zarjadowanje do marki Ekkeharda I. ze srjedžišćom w Mišnje, zawěsće krótko po lěće 987. W lětach 1002 – 1018 sta so Milsko z předmjetom riwalizacije susodnych knježićelow: Hendricha II. a Bolesława I. Chrobrego. Přez cyłu tu dobu wobhladowaše so politiska organizacija Milčanow jako samostatny teritorij, mjenowany tež marka. W lětach 1004–1007 steješe Milsko samo pod knjejstwom Hendricha II. přez wosebiteho Comesu, kotrehož tež markhrabja (*marchio*) titulowachu, we wosobje Hermannu I., staršeho syna Ekkeharda I: Lokalna organizacija knjejstwa a zarjadnistwa zepěraše so, podobnje kaž w druhich přez Saksow dobytych połobskich regionach, na hrodowych wobwodach, t. mj. Burgwardach. Napřečo běžnemu měnjenju, kotrež je na zakładže studije Gerharde Billiga (1989) wopodstatnjene, njeje tutón system najskeje jenož „žro“ Milska, ale tež wuchodne nakromne krajiny wobjimal.

Rekonstrukcija burgwardskeje syće Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy je tohodla ćežka, dokelž sta so w lěće 1015 katastrofa, kotraž wotběh stawiznow toho regiona diametrlnje změni. Tu je rěč wo wuprawje českehio wjercha Udalryka, kotraž je z chroniki Thietmaera z Mjezyborow (Merseburg) znata, a so z dobyćom hroda *Businc* a deportaciju wulkeho džěla wokolneje ludnosće skónči. W tudyšim džěle, zepěrajo so na retrospektiwnu analizu historiskich, historiskozasydlenskich a archeologiskich datow po metodice, kotruž je Gerhard Billig (1989) wudžěłał, poradži so, dwaj hrodaj mjenować, kotraž běštaj najskeje burgwardskej srjedžišći: škitnej objektaj na Bubniku (Landeskrona) a w Niedowje. Hodži so tež wo wobstaću třěcho hrodoweho wobwoda w Žitawskej žlobinje rozmyslować, ale tuchwilny staw archeologiskich slědženjow njedowoli rozsudne wuprajenje w tej materiji, dokelž njeje tamne wosadnistwo dokładnje doś přeslědžene a datowane. Z lisčiny hrodowych wobwodow dyrbi pak so předpokładany burgward ze srjedžišćom na hrodze w Bratkowje šmórnyć a jeho identifikacija z w lěće 1007 naspomnjenym *castellum Ostrusna* wuzamknyć, a to z dweju přičin. K přěnjemu by hrodowy wobwod *Ostrusna* dyrbał w zapadnym džělu Milska ležeć, w bliskosći dweju dalšej w samsnym dokumenće naspomnjeneju (*Trebista* a *Godobi*). K druhemu je po t. mj. Hornjołužiskim hraničnym dokumenće z lěta 1241 (CDB 4/1, nr 4) a dalšich žórlach z 13. lěstotka region Bratkowa zwonka mjezow biskopskich wobsydstwow ležał, w jich wobłuku pak ležeše hród w Niedowje.

W lětach 1018–1031 knježeštaj nad Milskom Piastaj Bolesław I. Chrobry a Mieszko II., njedostatki žórlow pak znjemóžnja dokładne wuprajenja k tematice stawiznow tu wobjednaneho regiona w tej dobje. W lěće 1031 zdoby Konrad II. Milsko

a wróci tej krajinje status přimjezneho wobwoda němskeho kralestwa. W tudyším džěle chce so dopokazać, zo je zarjadnistwo Milska tehdom wosebitemu *Comesej* we wosobje Ekkeharda II. dowěrene było. W lětach 1031–1034 tworješe Milsko zaso samostatnu Wuchodnu Marku (Łužisku) a Mišnjansku (1038), ale do kónca knježenja Ekkeharda II. wobhladowaše so to jako wosebity wobstatk cyłego Ekkardinowskeho dominija, mjenowaneho marka. Tutón status pak njeje wone po lěće 1046 wobchowalo, jako druhe Marki puć institucionalizacije nastupichu, a bu jenož jedna z nakromnych krajinow, kotrež přisłušachu susodnym *comitatus*. W podkapitlu 3.2.2 prócowach so, přeciwo powšitkownje w historiografiji knježacemu mjenjenju dopokazać, zo Milsko w lěće 1046 njeje wosud Mišnjanskeje Marki džěliło, ale je hromadže z Wuchodnej (Łužiskej) Marku pod zarjadnistwo Deda II. Wettinskeho přišło. Hakle jeho zběžk w lěće 1069 wustkutkowa, zo so jemu Milsko zaso wotewza a knjejstwu Egberta II., Mišnjanskeho markhrabje, připowěsny.

Nawróć Milska pod němske zarjadnistwo w lěće 1031 a změna strategich prioritow we wuchodnej politice kejžorstwa – na městnje Piastow sta so z hłownym přeciwnikom Konrada II. a Hendricha III. čěski wjerch Břetislav I. – měješej na přemóžace wašnje wliw na dalši wosud Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy. Z indirektnych premisow hodži so slědować, zo je Ekkehard II., zawěšće nic bjez wědženja a połnomocy krala, tutu wuludnjenu krajinu jako džěl swojeho alodialneho dominija wobhladował. Najskeje je runje Ekkehard II. w krajinje Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy předmost politiskeje a militarneje přitomnosće němskeho kralestwa natwaril, hdyž přepoda něhdyši Niedowski hrodowy wobwod Mišnjanskemu biskopstwu. Do doby konfrontacije němskeho kralestwa z Čechami w 40-tych lětach 11. lětstotka słuša zawěšće tež započatk intenziwneho wužiwanja hroda w Bratkowje a zasydlenje ryčerjow we Wuchodnej Hornjej Łužicy, kotrymž so beneficije we formje zemskich spožčenjow darichu. Dla pobrachowacych źorłow njehodži so cyle wuzamknýć, zo staj džěl horjeka předstajenych aktiwitow hižo naslědnikaj w lěće 1046 zemřěteho Ekkeharda II. we wosobomaj kralow z dynastije Salierow (Hendrich III. a Hendrich IV.) započaloj. Pod jeju knjejstwom su swětnje wobsydstwa we Wuchodnej Hornjej Łužicy swój status alodialnych kubłow wobchowali, kotrež poprawom monarcham słušachu, a buchu jako beneficije rozdawane. Generalne knjejstwo nad nimi (zawěšće hłownje pod militarym aspektom) wobchowachu při tym nad Milskom po rjedže knježacy komesy (Markhrabja).

Hłowne tezy džěla: 1081–1126

Nowy čas w stawiznach cyłeje Hornjeje Łužicy wotewř jeje přijće do wobsydstwa čěskeho wjercha Vratislava II. Tutón skutk wotmě so najskeje w lěće 1081 a běše wuskutk džělenja přez kejžora Hendricha II. dotalneje marki Egberta II., kotryž wobchowa knjejstwo w Mišnje ale wzda so na dobro Vratislava Milska a kraja Nižanow (nad Łobjom). Hižo w lěće 1084 wotstupi Vratislav wobej krajej Wiprechtěj II. z Grodzišća (Groitzsch) jako wěno swojeje džowki Judity. Je zwadne prašenje, na

kotrych prawach wobsedžeštaj Milsko a kraj Nižanow najprjedy Vratrslav a potom Wiprecht. Na zakładže w podkapitlu 4.3 přewjedženeje analyzy je Vratrslav wobej krajej jako beneficium wot Hendricha IV. dóstał, a přepodaće Wiprechtej wotmě so na zakładže wićežneje substitucije, a přečiwo wustupowacym w historiskim pismowstwie sugestijam a měnjenjam njenaložowaše so w tym padže žana subinfeudacija.

Chětro šěroko připóznata je w historiografiji teza Richarda Jechta (1930), zo bu Wuchodna Hornja Łužica hižo 1081 wot zbytneho džěla Milska wotdžělena. Wospjetna analyza argumentacije Jechta pokaza, zo je ta hypoteza njewopodstatnjena, je-li so rozdžělenje Milska na wuchodny džěl (Wuchodna Hornja Łužica) a srjedžozapadny džěl (pozdžiši Budyski kraj) docyla přewjedło za čas knjejstwa Hendricha IV. Skerje dyrbi so na lěto 1084 skedžbnić, hdyž wotmě so přepodaće wěna princesnje Judiće, kotraž wuda so tehdy na Wiprechta II z Grodžišća (Groitzsch). Na pomysł džělenja Milska w lěće 1084 dyrbi so runje tak skeptisce hladać, tajke džělenje by z perspektiwy knježićelow Prahi było prosće njepraktiske. W tym konteksće je hódno na to pokazać, zo pobrachuje z doby 1081–1126 kóždy slěd organizaciskeho skutkowanja Přemyslidow w krajinje Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy. Tajki slěd njetrjeba scyła być fundacija cyrkwe swj. Vaclava (dynastiskeho swjateho patrona Přemyslidow) w Jaworniku, kotruž je česka Judita, jeje muž Wiprecht abo syn Hendrich dokonjał.

Přeni moment, w kotrymž móhło so organizaciske džělenje „žra“ Milska wokoło Budyšina wot jeho wuchodnych teritorijow při rěčnišću Nysy přewjesć, běše lěto 1112, hdyž běštej wobej wot Wiprechta II. jako wěno žony dóstatej krajinje pod direktnym knjejstwom krala Hendricha V. W nastupanju krajiny Nižanow płódžeše ta změna politiskeje situacije wutworjenje přez knježićela stajneho předmosta trajneje zinstitutionalizowaneje přitomnosće kejžorskeho knjejstwa we formje hrodowskeho hrabinstwa Donina (Dohna). W žórlach pobrachuja pak daty wo podobnej reorganizaciji, kotraž přewjedže so na teritoriju pozdžišeje Hornjeje Łužicy, a w tym zwisku měło so pomyslić, zo njeje so status dominijalnych kubłow kejžorstwa na teritoriju wuchodneho džěla teje krajiny změnił (t. r. wone wostachu pod zarjadom tehdyšeho wobsedžerja Milska). Na druhej stronje měło so na ewentalnosć skedžbnić, zo běchu kejžorske wobsydstwa w krajinje Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy hižo w lěće 1117, w času džělnjeje restitucije kubłow za Wiprechta II, podobnje kaž hrodowe hrabinstwo Donin (Dohna) pod zarjadnistwom českeho wjercha Ladislava I.

Hłowne tezy džěla: 1126–1156

Přeni česki wjerch, kotrehož knjejstwo we Wuchodnej Hornjej Łužicy po 1084 je bjezdwełnje poswědčene, je Sobieslav I. (1126–1140). Hižo w přnim lěće swójeho knjejstwa wobnowi wón hród Zhorjelc nad Nysu (zlokalizowany na t. mj. hrodowej horje – Burgberg, tuchwilu we wobłuku Stareho města w Zhorjelcu). Dalše twarske džěla na tym objekće přewjedžechu so w nadawku Sobieslawa w lěće 1131. Njeje znate, na kajke wašnje sta so Sobieslav z wobsedžerjom Zhorjelskeho hroda a wokolnych kejžorskich dominijow. Dopuščenej stej dvě móžnosći: Pak je wón tute krajiny jako

naslědník bratra Ladislawa I. do wobsydstwa dóstał (přir. horjeka), abo wón dósta knjejstwo nad Nysu we wobłuku z kralom Lotarom III dojednaneho zrěčjenja po t. mj. druhej bitwje pod Chlumcom (18 II 1126). Ta poslednja ewentualnosć zda so być bóle prawdopodobna, wosebje zo běše tehdyši wobsedžer Milska, hrabja Hendrich z Grodžišća (Groitzsch), posředník mjez Sobieslavom I. a Lotarom III. Bohužel njezepěra so žana z předstajeneju móžnosćow na direktnych žórłowych swědstwach. Tohodla mětej so při přichodnych slědženjach wobě možnosći wobkedžbować.

Džakowano wonemu založeńskemu dokumentej tachantstwa w Starej Boleslavje, kotrež nasta w 12. lětstotku (CDB 1, nr 382), wěmy, zo wobsteješe za čas knjejstwa toho knježičela a na spočatku knježenja jeho naslědnika, Ladislawa II, wosebity *pagus Isgorelik* ze srjedžišćom w mjenowanym Zhorjelskim hrodže. Tuta krótkodobna zarjadniska jednotka běše najskeje identiska z teritorijom, kotryž je w pozdžišim času (1143–1156) jako Zagozd znaty a je přeni raz w dokumenće Konrada III. z nowembra 1144 naspomnjeny (MGH DK III, 119). Jadro toho teritorija tworichu pječa monarchiske dominijalne wobsydstwa, ale kaž slěduje z wobsaha mjenowaneho diploma, měješe markhrabja Konrad tež wěsty podžěl knjejstwa nad kubłami Mišnjanskich biskopow, kotrež ležachu w porěču Nysy.

Knjejstwo w tej krajinje wukonješe najprjedy Sobiesław I, potom Ladislaw II. a po nim Mišnjanski markhrabja Konrad z Wettinow, zepěrajo so na wobšěrne wopismo woprawnjenjow ze strony monarcha. Džiwajo na skromnu ličbu přistupnych žórłow je jeničce znate, zo wobjimaše tute wopismo prawo disponowanja z monarchiskimi dochodami na dobro cyrkwinskih institucijow (*casus* tachantstwa w Starej Boleslavje) a kontrole nad spjelńenjom přez wobydlerjow lokalnych biskopskich kubłow ze škitom hranicow zwjazanych winowatosćow (straža). Wjerch Sobiesław bu tohorunja najwuraznišo za přenjesenje swójsutoweho prawa někotrych monarchiskich wobsydstwow społnomócnjeny. Slědy tajkeho razu wukaza móžeja so při přeslědženju wosuda biskopskich wobsydstwow we *villa Goreliz* nadeńć, kotrež je biskopstwo najskeje za čas toho knježičela wotstupiło, najskeje jako zarunanje za sydlišća, kotrež ležachu na teritoriju pozdžišeho Eigenscher Kreis.

Wěšće běše w dobje zarjadniskeje samostatnosće Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy abo hnydom po jeje skónčenju, bjez dwěla na spočatku knježenja Bjedricha I. Barbarossy (1152–1157) ta krajina w t. mj. spisu blidowych kubłow němskeho krala jako *Milza* naspomnjena (edicija Brühl, Kölzer 1979, 53, Taf. I, III, přir. tež Kobuch 1996). Je mało wěrpodobne, zo měło so tole přispomnjenje wobhladować jako swědstwo, zo běše Wuchodna Hornja Łužica blidowe kubło *sensu strictiori*, to rěka wotdžělena za zaměry zastaranja němskeho krala, z třoch přičin. K přenjemu su kralojo jara ředko wosobinsce w tych stronach přebywali, k druhemu pobrachuja jednozmyslně swědstwa, zo su w kralestwach Němskeje a Italskeje kubla tajkeho raza w času přěních Hohenstaufow wobstali, k třěćemu skónčnje: kralowske kubla we Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy njewostachu pod direktnym knjejstwom monarcha.

Přispomnjenje wo *Milza* w t. mj. spisu blidowych kubłow němskeho krala ma so potajkim jeničce jako dopokaz za to interpretować, zo eksistowachu w počojcy

12. lětstotka na tym teritoriju dale alodialne kubła němskich kralow, kotrež wobsahowachu zawěšće cyły mišnjanski teritorij Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy, kiž njeslušeše biskopam. Retrospektiwne wobkrućenje toho stawa wěcy su popjerjowe podružje, kotrež wustupuja w mnohich městnosćach toho regiona. W knize je jich tabelariske a kartografiske zestajenje podate po slědženjach Joachima Hutha, Waltera Haupta, Manfreda Kobucha a swójskich autora.

Zjimanje

W knize předstajene wuslědki slědženjow zestajeja so k wobrazej politiki konkretnych centrow knjejstwa nad regionom, kotryž twori najdalšu periferiju jich wliwa. Přez wjetšinu w džěle wobjednaneho časa je so politika po sebi knježacych němskich kralow napřečo Hornjej Łužicy na delegowanju běžnych zarjadnistwow druhim subjektam zepěrała, najprjedy wotwisneje słowjanskeje politiskeje organizacije (Milčenjo), potom wšelkim markhrabjam. Do lěta 1081 postajowaše politiska struktura kejžorstwa prawnski ramik woneho delegowanja woprawnjenjow w skali cyłego Milska, ale w nastupanju Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy su so němscy knježićeljo hižo po lěće 1031 z jeničce cyłkownej zwjerchnosću spokojili, hdyž dowolichu Ekkehardej II. wutworjenje alodialneho dominija w tej krajinje. Džědženje zawostajenstwa po Ekkehardinach přez Hendricha III. wjedžeše k tomu, zo zjewi so w krajinje Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy kompleks dominijalnych kralowskich wobsydstwow, štož pak njezměni powšitkownu liniju politiki přichodnych knježićelow, kotřiž wobhladowachu wuchodne kromy swojeho knjejstwa jako objekt za mytowanje svojich přiwisnikow. Apogeum toho postupownaja tworichu lěta 1081–1112, hdyž cyłe Milsko jako beneficium we wobsydstwje najprjedy Vratislava II. a potom Wiprechta II. z Grodžišća (Groitzsch) wosta.

Hakle Hendrich V. započa z natwarom podkładow swojeho njeposrědnego knjejstwa we wot Mišna 1081 přez swojeho nana wotdžělenych regionach, znajmjeńša w krajinje Nižanow, hdyž powoła za monarchiske kubła wosebity wotdžěl zarjadnistwa z někotrymi woprawnjenjemi nadknjejstwa we formje hrodowskeho hrabinstwa Dohna. Wo podobnych předewzaćach toho monarcha w nastupanju wuchodneho džěla Milska njeje ničo znate, bjez dwěla pak, jelizo nic za čas Hendricha V. (zawěšće w lěće 1117), potom za čas jeho naslědnika Lotara III. (1126) přewjedže so cyle podobna akcija – wotdžělenje dominijalnach kubłow w porěču Nysy hromadže z walčkom knježerskich woprawnjenjow wot zbytkla Milska a jich přepodaće drugej wosobie pod zarjadnistwo (čěskemu wjerchej Ladislavej I. abo Sobieslawej I.) w nastupanju Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy. Na tajke wašnje nasta nowa přechodna jednotka zarjadnistwa, pod knjejstwom Sobieslawa I., po hłownym hrodže mjenowana Zhorjelski wobwod (*pagus Isgorelik*) a potom pod knjejstwom Konrada I. z Wettinow Zagozd. Z perspektivy pragmatiki zarjadnistwa teritorija pak běše tutón přemały, hač zo by tam wosebity kralowski zastojnik knježil. Tohodla samo w dobie najwjetšeje ekspansije institucije kralowskeho hrodowskeho hrabinstwa w lěće 1156 njeslušeše

Wuchodna Hornja Łužica do rjada krajinow, kotrež dóstawachu swoich kralowskich kastelanow. Tak skónči so třicecílětna epizoda zarjadniskeje njewotwisnosće Wuchodneje Hornjeje Łužicy wot zbytneho džěla Milska.

Bjez dalších nadrobniších wuwjedženjow, kotrež su we wotpowědnych partijach džěla přistupne hodži so wuprajić mysl, zo je so w druhim a třěćim lětdžesatku 12. lětstotka zhladowanje na Wuchodnu Hornju Łužicu změniło a to ze strony němskich monarchow kaž tež teritorialnych knježićelow. Město jako nakromna krajina, kotraž woznamjenja balast, kiž měł so po móžnosći spěšnje a wužitnje wotbyć, poča krajina być wobhladowana jako městno, kotrež skići móžnosć natwarjenja předmosta sylneho knjejstwa. Za čas knjejstwa Bjedricha II. Barbarossy datuje so tež nawrót k politice, kaž su ju w nastupanju cyłeho Milska němscy knježićeljo po rjedže hač k Hendrichej IV. praktikowali, z delegowanjom woprawnjenjow knježićelow na třěće wosoby. Wužitnicy teje politiki běchu Přemyslidojo, kotřiž přewzachu knjejstwo w Milsku na dalše nimale sto lět.

Přeložk: Alfred Měškank

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